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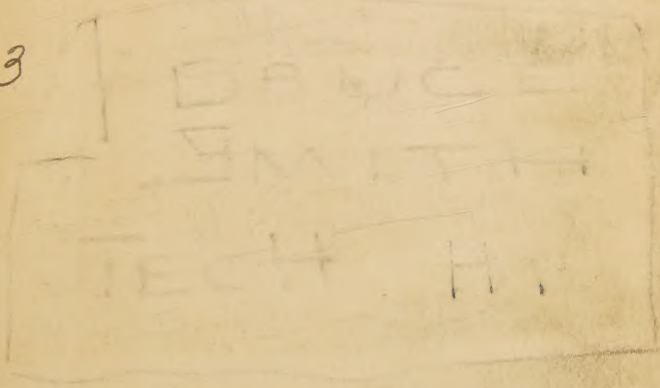

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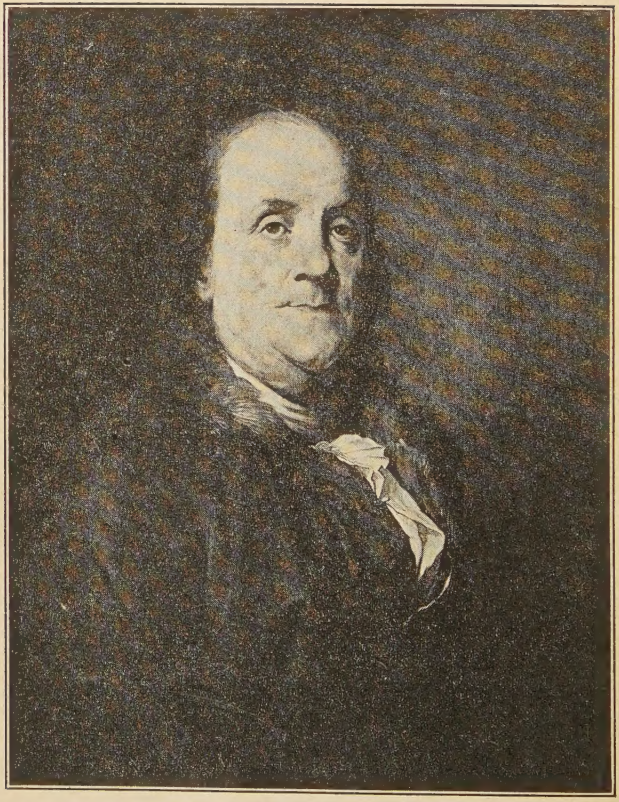

THE DUPLESSIS PORTRAIT OF FRANKLIN

This picture, which was painted from life in Paris, is regarded by many as the truest likeness we have of Franklin.

The Academy Classics

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS LETTERS, ESSAYS, AND JOURNAL OF 1726

EDITED WITH NOTES, GLOSSARY,
AND VARIOUS AIDS TO STUDY

BY

SAMUEL THURBER
NEWTON HIGH SCHOOL

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FOREWORD

THERE are three good reasons why the study of Franklin's *Autobiography* with boys and girls is thoroughly worth while: in point of time, it is the first important work of American literature; as an autobiography, it is a masterpiece unsurpassed by anything of its kind in our language; it is the life story, told simply and frankly, of one of the most interesting men who ever lived. Few books taught to-day in our English classes have greater possibilities of arousing wholesome discussion. Whether read in the junior high school, or studied more intensively in later years, the *Autobiography* can never be dull. To the youth of to-day Franklin's personality is stimulating and appealingly vital.

The problem of reference books and library facilities in our large public schools is not always easy to solve. The present edition of the *Autobiography* meets the issue by providing a generous amount of informational matter not usually included in Franklin texts. In the appendix the following helps will be found: the story of the manuscript of the *Autobiography*, a sketch of Franklin's life from 1757 to his death in 1790, a list of his principal works, notes, and a glossary. The text has been divided into chapters of suitable length for lesson assignments, and questions for class discussion, together with a large number of topics for oral and written composition, have been added. Both questions and topics are laboratory material from actual classroom experience. Many of them are the contribution of high-school boys and girls.

SAMUEL THURBER

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PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN FRANKLIN'S LIFE

Born in Boston	January 17 (O. S. January 6), 1706
Leaves school and goes to work for his father	1716
Apprenticed to his brother James	1718
Writes letters for the *New England Courant*	1721–22
Runs away to Philadelphia	October, 1723
Goes to England at suggestion of Governor Keith	1725
Returns to Philadelphia	October 11, 1726
Establishes the Junto	1728
First publishes the *Pennsylvania Gazette*	1729
Marries Mrs. Rogers (Miss Read)	September 1, 1730
First publishes *Poor Richard's Almanac*	1732
Appointed postmaster of Philadelphia	1737
Establishes Philadelphia Public Library	1742
Establishes Academy (later University of Pennsylvania)	1744
Carries on electrical experiments	1746–53
Assists in founding hospital	1751
Famous experiment with kite and lightning	1752
Appointed postmaster-general for the colonies	1753
Elected fellow of Royal Society	1753
Given degree of Master of Arts by Harvard and Yale	1753
Sent by Pennsylvania as agent to England	1757
Given degree of J.C.D. (Doctor of Civil Law) by University of St. Andrews	1759
In England as special agent of colonies	1764–75
Helps to procure repeal of Stamp Act	1766
Elected first President of American Philosophical Society	1768
Elected to the Continental Congress	1775
Signs the Declaration of Independence	1776

In diplomatic service of United States in France	1776–85
Signs the Treaty of Paris	1783
President (Governor) of Pennsylvania	1785–88
Delegate to convention to draw up the Constitution of the United States	1787
Dies at Philadelphia	April 17, 1790

If to be venerated for benevolence, if to be admired for talents, if to be esteemed for patriotism, if to be beloved for philanthropy, can gratify the human mind, you must have the pleasing consolation to know that you have not lived in vain. — From a letter written to Franklin in 1789 by George Washington.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

CHAPTER I

THE FRANKLIN FAMILY

Twyford, at the Bishop of St. Asaph's, 1771

DEAR SON: I have ever had pleasure in obtaining any little anecdotes of my ancestors. You may remember the inquiries I made among the remains of my relations when you were with me in England, and the journey I undertook for that purpose. Imagining it may be equally agreeable to you to know the circumstances of my life, many of which you are yet unacquainted with, and expecting the enjoyment of a week's uninterrupted leisure in my present country retirement, I sit down to write them for you. To which I have besides some other inducements. Having emerged from the poverty and obscurity in which I was born and bred, to a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world, and having gone so far through life with a considerable share of felicity, the conducing means I made use of, which with the blessing of God so well succeeded, my posterity may like to know, as they may find some of them suitable to their own situations, and therefore fit to be imitated.

That felicity, when I reflected on it, has induced me sometimes to say, that were it offered to my choice, I should have no objection to a repetition of the same life from its beginning, only asking the advantages authors have in a second edition to correct some faults of the first. So I might, besides correcting the faults, change some sinister accidents and events of it for others more favorable. But

though this were denied, I should still accept the offer. Since such a repetition is not to be expected, the next thing most like living one's life over again seems to be a recollection of that life, and to make that recollection as durable as possible by putting it down in writing.

Hereby, too, I shall indulge the inclination so natural in old men, to be talking of themselves and their own past actions; and I shall indulge it without being tiresome to others, who, through respect to age, might conceive themselves obliged to give me a hearing, since this may be read or not as any one pleases. And, lastly (I may as well confess it, since my denial of it will be believed by nobody), perhaps I shall a good deal gratify my own vanity. Indeed, I scarce ever heard or saw the introductory words, "Without vanity I may say," etc., but some vain thing immediately followed. Most people dislike vanity in others, whatever share they have of it themselves; but I give it fair quarter wherever I meet with it, being persuaded that it is often productive of good to the possessor, and to others that are within his sphere of action; and therefore, in many cases, it would not be altogether absurd if a man were to thank God for his vanity among the other comforts of life.

And now I speak of thanking God, I desire with all humility to acknowledge that I owe the mentioned happiness of my past life to His kind providence, which led me to the means I used and gave them success. My belief of this induces me to hope, though I must not presume, that the same goodness will still be exercised toward me, in continuing that happiness, or enabling me to bear a fatal reverse, which I may experience as others have done; the complexion of my future fortune being known to Him only in whose power it is to bless to us even our afflictions.

The notes one of my uncles (who had the same kind of curiosity in collecting family anecdotes) once put into my hands furnished me with several particulars relating to our ancestors. From these notes I learned that the family had lived in the same village, Ecton, in Northamptonshire, for three hundred years, and how much longer he knew not (perhaps from the time when the name of Franklin, that before was the name of an order of people, was assumed by them as a surname when others took surnames all over the kingdom), on a freehold of about thirty acres, aided by the smith's business, which had continued in the family till his time, the eldest son being always bred to that business; a custom which he and my father followed as to their eldest sons. When I searched the registers at Ecton, I found an account of their births, marriages, and burials from the year 1555 only, there being no registers kept in that parish at any time preceding. By that register I perceived that I was the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back. My grandfather, Thomas, who was born in 1598, lived at Ecton till he grew too old to follow business longer, when he went to live with his son John, a dyer at Banbury, in Oxfordshire, with whom my father served an apprenticeship. There my grandfather died and lies buried. We saw his gravestone in 1758. His eldest son Thomas lived in the house at Ecton, and left it with the land to his only child, a daughter, who, with her husband, one Fisher, of Wellingborough, sold it to Mr. Isted, now lord of the manor there. My grandfather had four sons that grew up, viz.: Thomas, John, Benjamin, and Josiah. I will give you what account I can of them, at this distance from my papers, and if these are not lost in my absence, you will among them find many more particulars.

Thomas was bred a smith under his father; but, being ingenious, and encouraged in learning (as all my brothers were) by an Esquire Palmer, then the principal gentleman in that parish, he qualified himself for the business of scrivener; became a considerable man in the county; was a chief mover of all public spirited undertakings for the county or town of Northampton, and his own village, of which many instances were related of him; and much taken notice of and patronized by the then Lord Halifax. He died in 1702, January 6, old style, just four years to a day before I was born. The account we received of his life and character from some old people at Ecton, I remember, struck you as something extraordinary, from its similarity to what you knew of mine. "Had he died on the same day," you said, "one might have supposed a transmigration."

John was bred a dyer, I believe, of woolens. Benjamin was bred a silk dyer, serving an apprenticeship at London. He was an ingenious man. I remember him well, for when I was a boy he came over to my father in Boston, and lived in the house with us some years. He lived to a great age. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, now lives in Boston. He left behind him two quarto volumes, in manuscript, of his own poetry, consisting of little occasional pieces addressed to his friends and relations, of which the following, sent to me, is a specimen.* He had formed a short-hand of his own which he taught me, but, never practicing it, I have now forgot it. I was named after this uncle, there being a particular affection between him and my father. He was very pious, a great attender of sermons of the best preachers which he took down in his short-hand, and had with him

* See page 341 for the specimen.

many volumes of them. He was also much of a politician; too much, perhaps, for his station. There fell lately into my hands, in London, a collection he had made of all the principal pamphlets relating to public affairs, from 1641 to 1717; many of the volumes are wanting as appears by the numbering, but there still remain eight volumes in folio, and twenty-four in quarto and in octavo. A dealer in old books met with them, and knowing me by my sometimes buying of him, he brought them to me. It seems my uncle must have left them here when he went to America, which was above fifty years since. There are many of his notes in the margins.

This obscure family of ours was early in the Reformation, and continued Protestants through the reign of Queen Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of trouble on account of their zeal against popery. They had got an English Bible, and to conceal and secure it, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint-stool. When my great-great-grandfather read it to his family, he turned up the joint-stool upon his knees, turning over the leaves then under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the apparitor coming, who was an officer of the spiritual court. In that case the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the Bible remained concealed under it as before. This anecdote I had from my uncle Benjamin. The family continued all of the Church of England till about the end of Charles the Second's reign, when some of the ministers that had been outed for non-conformity holding conventicles in Northamptonshire, Benjamin and Josiah adhered to them, and so continued all their lives: the rest of the family remained with the Episcopal Church.

Josiah, my father, married young, and carried his wife with three children into New England, about 1682. The conventicles having been forbidden by law, and frequently disturbed, induced some considerable men of his acquaintance to remove to that country, and he was prevailed with to accompany them thither, where they expected to enjoy

The House in Boston in Which Franklin Was Born

their mode of religion with freedom. By the same wife he had four children more born there, and by a second wife ten more, in all seventeen, of which I remember thirteen sitting at one time at his table, who all grew up to be men and women, and married. I was the youngest son, and the

youngest child but two, and was born in Boston, New England. My mother, the second wife, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers of New England, of whom honorable mention is made by Cotton Mather, in his church history of that country, entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*, as "a godly, learned Englishman," if I remember the words rightly. I have heard that he wrote sundry small occasional pieces, but only one of them was printed, which I saw now many years since. It was written in 1675, in the homespun verse of that time and people, and addressed to those then concerned in the government there. It was in favor of liberty of conscience, and in behalf of the Baptists, Quakers, and other sectaries that had been under persecution, ascribing the Indian wars, and other distresses that had befallen the country, to that persecution, as so many judgments of God to punish so heinous an offense, and exhorting a repeal of those uncharitable laws. The whole appeared to me as written with a good deal of decent plainness and manly freedom. The six concluding lines I remember, though I have forgotten the two first of the stanza; but the purport of them was, that his censures proceeded from good-will, and therefore he would be known to be the author.

Because to be a libeller
I hate it with my heart;
From Sherburne town, where now I dwell
My name I do put here;
Without offense your real friend,
It is Peter Folgier.

CHAPTER II

BENJAMIN'S BOYHOOD IN BOSTON

My elder brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. I was put to the grammar-school at eight years of age, my father intending to devote me, as the tithe of his sons, to the service of the Church. My early readiness in learning to read (which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read), and the opinion of all his friends that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his. My uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it, and proposed to give me all his short-hand volumes of sermons, I suppose as a stock to set up with, if I would learn his character. I continued, however, at the grammar-school not quite one year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year to be the head of it, and further, was removed into the next class above it, in order to go with that into the third at the end of the year. But my father, in the mean time, from a view of the expense of a college education, which having so large a family he could not well afford, and the mean living many so educated were afterwards able to obtain, — reasons that he gave to his friends in my hearing, — altered his first intention, took me from the grammar-school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownell, very successful in his profession generally, and that by mild, encouraging methods. Under him I acquired

fair writing pretty soon, but I failed in the arithmetic, and made no progress in it. At ten years old I was taken home to assist my father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; a business he was not bred to, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, and on finding his dyeing trade would not maintain his family, being in little request. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting wick for the candles, filling the dipping mould and the moulds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands, etc.

I disliked the trade, and had a strong inclination for the sea, but my father declared against it; however, living near the water, I was much in and about it, learnt early to swim well, and to manage boats; and when in a boat or canoe with other boys, I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any case of difficulty; and upon other occasions I was generally a leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into scrapes, of which I will mention one instance, as it shows an early projecting public spirit, though not then justly conducted.

There was a salt marsh that bounded part of the mill pond, on the edge of which, at high water, we used to stand to fish for minnows. By much trampling, we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there fit for us to stand upon, and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly, in the evening, when the workmen were gone, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and working with them diligently, like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, we brought them all away and built our little wharf. The next morning the workmen were sur-

prised at missing the stones, which were found in our wharf. Inquiry was made after the removers; we were discovered and complained of; several of us were corrected by our fathers; and, though I pleaded the usefulness of the work, mine convinced me that nothing was useful which was not honest.

I think you may like to know something of his person and character. He had an excellent constitution of body, was of middle stature, but well set, and very strong. He was ingenious, could draw prettily, was skilled a little in music, and had a clear, pleasing voice, so that when he played psalm tunes on his violin and sung withal, as he sometimes did in an evening after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had a mechanical genius, too, and, on occasion, was very handy in the use of other tradesmen's tools; but his great excellence lay in a sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and public affairs. In the latter, indeed, he was never employed, the numerous family he had to educate and the straitness of his circumstances keeping him close to his trade; but I remember well his being frequently visited by leading people, who consulted him for his opinion in affairs of the town or of the church he belonged to, and showed a good deal of respect for his judgment and advice. He was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs when any difficulty occurred, and frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbor to converse with, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds

of his children. By this means he turned our attention to what was good, just, and prudent in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table, whether it was well or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavor, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind, so that I was brought up in such a perfect inattention to those matters as to be quite indifferent what kind of food was set before me, and so unobservant of it, that to this day if I am asked I can scarce tell a few hours after dinner what I dined upon. This has been a convenience to me in traveling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate, because better instructed, tastes and appetites.

Monument to Franklin's Parents, Granary Burying-Ground, Boston

This shaft, which was erected in 1827 to replace the original stone, has on its face the epitaph composed by Franklin.

My mother had likewise an excellent constitution; she suckled all her ten children. I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness but that of which they died, he at eighty-nine, and she at eighty-five years of age. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since placed a marble over their grave, with this inscription: —

JOSIAH FRANKLIN,
and
ABIAH his wife,
lie here interred.
They lived lovingly together in wedlock
fifty-five years.
Without an estate, or any gainful employment,
By constant labor and industry,
with God's blessing,
They maintained a large family
comfortably,
and brought up thirteen children
and seven grandchildren
reputably.
From this instance, reader,
Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling,
And distrust not Providence.
He was a pious and prudent man;
She, a discreet and virtuous woman.
Their youngest son,
In filial regard to their memory,
Places this stone.
J. F. born 1655, died 1744, Ætat 89.
A. F. born 1667, died 1752, —85.

By my rambling digressions I perceive myself to be grown old. I used to write more methodically. But one does not dress for private company as for a public ball. 'Tis perhaps only negligence.

To return: I continued thus employed in my father's business for two years, that is, till I was twelve years old; and my brother John, who was bred to that business, having left my father, married, and set up for himself at Rhode Island, there was all appearance that I was destined to supply his place, and become a tallow chandler. But my dislike to the trade continuing, my father was under

apprehensions that if he did not find one for me more agreeable, I should break away and get to sea, as his son Josiah had done, to his great vexation. He therefore sometimes took me to walk with him, and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, etc., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or other on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools, and it has been useful to me, having learned so much by it as to be able to do little jobs myself in my house when a workman could not readily be got, and to construct little machines for my experiments, while the intention of making the experiment was fresh and warm in my mind. My father at last fixed upon the cutler's trade, and my uncle Benjamin's son Samuel, who was bred to that business in London, being about that time established in Boston, I was sent to be with him some time on liking. But his expectations of a fee with me displeasing my father, I was taken home again.

From a child I was fond of reading, and all the little money that came into my hands was ever laid out in books. Pleased with the *Pilgrim's Progress*, my first collection was of John Bunyan's works in separate little volumes. I afterward sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's *Historical Collections;* they were small chapmen's books, and cheap, forty or fifty in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read, and have since often regretted that, at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way, since it was now resolved I should not be a clergyman. Plutarch's *Lives* there was in which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great

advantage. There was also a book of De Foe's, called an *Essay on Projects*, and another of Dr. Mather's, called *Essays to do Good*, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life.

This bookish inclination at length determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already one son (James) of that profession. In 1717 my brother James returned from England with a press and letters to set up his business in Boston. I liked it much better than that of my father, but still had a hankering for the sea. To prevent the apprehended effect of such an inclination, my father was impatient to have me bound to my brother. I stood out some time, but at last was persuaded, and signed the indentures when I was yet but twelve years old. I was to serve as an apprentice till I was twenty-one years of age, only I was to be allowed journeyman's wages during the last year. In a little time I made great proficiency in the business, and became a useful hand to my brother. I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon and clean. Often I sat up in my room reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening and to be returned early in the morning, lest it should be missed or wanted.

And after some time an ingenious tradesman, Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, and who frequented our printing-house, took notice of me, invited me to his library, and very kindly lent me such books as I chose to read. I now took a fancy to poetry, and made some little pieces; my brother, thinking it might

Detroit Publishing Co.

FRANKLIN SELLING BALLADS ON THE STREETS OF BOSTON

turn to account, encouraged me, and put me on composing occasional ballads. One was called *The Lighthouse Tragedy* and contained an account of the drowning of Captain Worthilake, with his two daughters; the other was a sailor's song, on the taking of Teach (or Blackbeard), the pirate. They were wretched stuff, in the Grub Street ballad style; and when they were printed he sent me about the town to sell them. The first sold wonderfully, the event being recent, having made a great noise. This flattered my vanity; but my father discouraged me by ridiculing my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars. So I escaped being a poet, most probably a very bad one; but as prose writing has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how, in such a situation, I acquired what little ability I have in that way.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATING HIMSELF

THERE was another bookish lad in the town, John Collins by name, with whom I was intimately acquainted. We sometimes disputed, and very fond we were of argument, and very desirous of confuting one another, which disputatious turn, by the way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice; and thence, besides souring and spoiling the conversation, is productive of disgusts and perhaps enmities where you may have occasion for friendship. I had caught it by reading my father's books of dispute about religion. Persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and men of all sorts that have been bred at Edinburgh.

A question was once, somehow or other, started between Collins and me, of the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study. He was of opinion that it was improper, and that they were naturally unequal to it. I took the contrary side, perhaps a little for dispute's sake. He was naturally more eloquent, had a ready plenty of words; and sometimes, as I thought, bore me down more by his fluency than by the strength of his reasons. As we parted without settling the point, and were not to see one another again for some time, I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and

sent to him. He answered, and I replied. Three or four letters of a side had passed, when my father happened to find my papers and read them. Without entering into the discussion, he took occasion to talk to me about the manner of my writing; observed that, though I had the advantage of my antagonist in correct spelling and pointing (which I owed to the printing-house), I fell far short in elegance of expression, in method, and in perspicuity, of which he convinced me by several instances. I saw the justice of his remarks, and thence grew more attentive to the manner in writing, and determined to endeavor at improvement.

About this time I met with an odd volume of the *Spectator*. It was the third. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished, if possible, to imitate it. With this view I took some of the papers, and making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, tried to complete the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should come to hand. Then I compared my *Spectator* with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time if I had gone on making verses; since the continual occasion for words of the same import, but of different length, to suit the measure, or of different sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore

I took some of the tales and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again. I also sometimes jumbled my collections of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavored to reduce them into the best order, before I began to form the full sentences and complete the paper. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of thoughts. By comparing my work afterwards with the original, I discovered many faults and amended them; but I sometimes had the pleasure of fancying that, in certain particulars of small import, I had been lucky enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think I might possibly in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extremely ambitious. My time for these exercises and for reading was at night, after work, or before it began in the morning, or on Sundays, when I contrived to be in the printing-house alone, evading as much as I could the common attendance on public worship which my father used to exact of me when I was under his care, and which indeed I still thought a duty, though I could not, as it seemed to me, afford time to practice it.

When about sixteen years of age I happened to meet with a book, written by one Tryon, recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go into it. My brother, being yet unmarried, did not keep house, but boarded himself and his apprentices in another family. My refusing to eat flesh occasioned an inconveniency, and I was frequently chid for my singularity. I made myself acquainted with Tryon's manner of preparing some of his dishes, such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hasty pudding, and a few others, and then proposed to my brother

that if he would give me, weekly, half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me. This was an additional fund for buying books. But I had another advantage in it. My brother and the rest going from the printing-house to their meals, I remained there alone, and dispatching presently my light repast, which often was no more than a biscuit or a slice of bread, a handful of raisins or a tart from the pastry-cook's, and a glass of water, had the rest of the time till their return for study, in which I made the greater progress, from that greater clearness of head and quicker apprehension which usually attend temperance in eating and drinking.

And now it was that, being on some occasion made ashamed of my ignorance in figures, which I had twice failed in learning when at school, I took Cocker's book of arithmetic, and went through the whole by myself with great ease. I also read Seller's and Shermy's books of navigation, and became acquainted with the little geometry they contain, but never proceeded far in that science. And I read about this time Locke *On Human Understanding*, and the *Art of Thinking*, by Messrs. du Port Royal.

While I was intent on improving my language, I met with an English grammar (I think it was Greenwood's), at the end of which there were two little sketches of the arts of rhetoric and logic, the latter finishing with a specimen of a dispute in the Socratic method; and soon after I procured Xenophon's *Memorable Things of Socrates*, wherein there are many instances of the same method. I was charmed with it, adopted it, dropped my abrupt contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer and doubter. And being then, from read-

ing Shaftesbury and Collins, become a real doubter in many points of our religious doctrine, I found this method safest for myself and very embarrassing to those against whom I used it. Therefore I took a delight in it, practiced it continually, and grew very artful and expert in drawing people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee, entangling them in difficulties out of which they could not extricate themselves, and so obtaining victories that neither myself nor my cause always deserved. I continued this method some few years, but gradually left it, retaining only the habit of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence; never using, when I advanced anything that may possibly be disputed, the words *certainly*, *undoubtedly*, or any others that give the air of positiveness to an opinion; but rather say, I *conceive* or *apprehend* a thing to be so and so; it *appears* to me, or I should *think* it so or so, for such and such reasons; or I *imagine* it to be so; or it is so *if I am not mistaken*. This habit, I believe, has been of great advantage to me when I have had occasion to inculcate my opinions, and persuade men into measures that I have been from time to time engaged in promoting; and as the chief ends of conversation are to inform or to be informed, to please or to persuade, I wish well-meaning, sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive, assuming manner, that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat every one of those purposes for which speech was given to us, to wit, giving or receiving information or pleasure. For if you would inform, a positive and dogmatical manner in advancing your sentiments may provoke contradiction and prevent a candid attention. If you wish information and improve-

ment from the knowledge of others, and yet at the same time express yourself as firmly fixed in your present opinions, modest, sensible men who do not love disputation will probably leave you undisturbed in the possession of your error. And by such a manner you can seldom hope to recommend yourself in pleasing your hearers, or to persuade those whose concurrence you desire. Pope says judiciously: —

> Men should be taught as if you taught them not,
> And things unknown propos'd as things forgot;

farther recommending to us

> To speak, tho' sure, with seeming diffidence.

And he might have coupled with this line that which he has coupled with another, I think less properly,

> For want of modesty is want of sense.

If you ask, Why less properly? I must repeat the lines, —

> Immodest words admit of no defense,
> For want of modesty is want of sense.

Now, is not want of sense (where a man is so unfortunate as to want it) some apology for his want of modesty? And would not the lines stand more justly thus?

> Immodest words admit but this defense,
> That want of modesty is want of sense.

This, however, I should submit to better judgments.

My brother had, in 1720 or 1721, begun to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was called the *New England Courant*. The only one before it was the *Boston News-Letter*. I remember his being dissuaded by some of his friends from the under-

taking, as not likely to succeed, one newspaper being, in their judgment, enough for America. At this time (1771) there are not less than five-and-twenty. He went on, however, with the undertaking, and after having worked in composing the types and printing off the sheets, I was employed to carry the papers through the streets to the customers.

He had some ingenious men among his friends, who amused themselves by writing little pieces for this paper, which gained it credit and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us. Hearing their conversations, and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with, I was excited to try my hand among them; but being still a boy, and suspecting that my brother would object to printing anything of mine in his paper if he knew it to be mine, I contrived to disguise my hand, and writing an anonymous paper, I put it in at night under the door of the printing-house. It was found in the morning, and communicated to his writing friends when they called in as usual. They read it, commented on it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure of finding it met with their approbation, and that in their different guesses at the author, none were named but men of some character among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose now that I was rather lucky in my judges, and that perhaps they were not really so very good ones as I then esteemed them.

Encouraged, however, by this, I wrote and conveyed in the same way to the press several more papers which were equally approved; and I kept my secret till my small fund of sense for such performances was pretty well exhausted, and then I discovered it, when I began to be

Detroit Publishing Co.

THE PRINTER'S APPRENTICE

Franklin, in paper cap and leather apron, is here working a hand-press in a typical printing office of 1720.

considered a little more by my brother's acquaintance, and in a manner that did not quite please him, as he thought, probably with reason, that it tended to make me too vain. And, perhaps, this might be one occasion of the differences that we began to have about this time. Though a brother, he considered himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and, accordingly, expected the same services from me

Harper & Brothers

"My brother was passionate, and had often beaten me."

as he would from another, while I thought he demeaned me too much in some he required of me, who from a brother expected more indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right, or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favor. But my brother was passionate, and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and, thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was con-

tinually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected.*

One of the pieces in our newspaper on some political point, which I have now forgotten, gave offence to the Assembly. He was taken up, censured, and imprisoned for a month, by the speaker's warrant, I suppose, because he would not discover his author. I too was taken up and examined before the council; but, though I did not give them any satisfaction, they contented themselves with admonishing me, and dismissed me, considering me, perhaps, as an apprentice who was bound to keep his master's secrets.

During my brother's confinement, which I resented a good deal, notwithstanding our private differences, I had the management of the paper; and I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavorable light, as a young genius that had a turn for libelling and satire. My brother's discharge was accompanied with an order of the House (a very odd one), that "James Franklin should no longer print the paper called the *New England Courant*."

There was a consultation held in our printing-house among his friends, what he should do in this case. Some proposed to evade the order by changing the name of the paper; but my brother seeing inconveniences in that, it was finally concluded on as a better way, to let it be printed for the future under the name of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN; and to avoid the censure of the Assembly, that might fall on

* I fancy his harsh and tyrannical treatment of me might be a means of impressing me with that aversion to arbitrary power that has stuck to me through my whole life. — B. F.

him as still printing it by his apprentice, the contrivance was that my old indenture should be returned to me, with a full discharge on the back of it, to be shown on occasion, but to secure to him the benefit of my service, I was to sign new indentures for the remainder of the term, which were to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it was; however, it was immediately executed, and the paper went on accordingly, under my name for several months.

At length, a fresh difference arising between my brother and me, I took upon me to assert my freedom, presuming that he would not venture to produce the new indentures. It was not fair in me to take this advantage, and this I therefore reckon one of the first errata of my life; but the unfairness of it weighed little with me, when under the impressions of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me, though he was otherwise not an ill-natured man. Perhaps I was too saucy and provoking.

When he found I would leave him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing-house of the town, by going round and speaking to every master, who accordingly refused to give me work. I then thought of going to New York, as the nearest place where there was a printer; and I was rather inclined to leave Boston when I reflected that I had already made myself a little obnoxious to the governing party, and from the arbitrary proceedings of the Assembly in my brother's case, it was likely I might, if I stayed, soon bring myself into scrapes; and further, that my indiscreet disputations about religion began to make me pointed at with horror by good people as an infidel or atheist. I determined on the point, but my father now siding with my brother, I was

sensible that if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins, therefore, undertook to manage a little for me. He agreed with the captain of a New York sloop for my passage under the notion of my being a young acquaintance of his that had got into trouble. So I sold some of my books to raise a little money, was taken on board privately, and as we had a fair wind, in three days I found myself in New York, near three hundred miles from home, a boy of but seventeen, without the least recommendation to, or knowledge of, any person in the place, and with very little money in my pocket.

CHAPTER IV

THE RUNAWAY APPRENTICE

My inclinations for the sea were by this time worn out, or I might now have gratified them. But, having a trade, and supposing myself a pretty good workman, I offered my service to the printer in the place, old Mr. William Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, but removed from thence upon the quarrel of George Keith. He could give me no employment, having little to do, and help enough already; but says he, "My son at Philadelphia has lately lost his principal hand, Aquila Rose, by death; if you go thither, I believe he may employ you." Philadelphia was a hundred miles further; I set out, however, in a boat for Amboy, leaving my chest and things to follow me round by sea.

In crossing the bay, we met with a squall that tore our rotten sails to pieces, prevented our getting into the Kill, and drove us upon Long Island. In our way, a drunken Dutchman, who was a passenger too, fell overboard; when he was sinking, I reached through the water to his shock pate, and drew him up, so that we got him in again. His ducking sobered him a little, and he went to sleep, taking first out of his pocket a book, which he desired I would dry for him. It proved to be my old favorite author, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, in Dutch, finely printed on good paper, with copper cuts, a dress better than I had ever seen it wear in its own language. I have

since found that it has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and suppose it has been more generally read than any other book, except perhaps the Bible. Honest John was the first that I know of who mixed narration and dialogue; a method of writing very engaging to the reader, who in the most interesting parts finds himself, as it were, brought into the company and present at the discourse. De Foe in his *Crusoe*, his *Moll Flanders*, *Religious Courtship*, *Family Instructor*, and other pieces, has imitated it with success, and Richardson has done the same in his *Pamela*, etc.

When we drew near the island, we found it was at a place where there could be no landing, there being a great surf on the stony beach. So we dropped anchor, and swung round towards the shore. Some people came down to the water edge and hallooed to us, as we did to them; but the wind was so high, and the surf so loud, that we could not hear so as to understand each other. There were canoes on the shore, and we made signs, and hallooed that they should fetch us; but they either did not understand us, or thought it impracticable, so they went away, and night coming on, we had no remedy but to wait till the wind should abate; and, in the mean time, the boatman and I concluded to sleep, if we could; and so crowded into the scuttle, with the Dutchman, who was still wet; and the spray beating over the head of our boat, leaked through to us, so that we were soon almost as wet as he. In this manner we lay all night, with very little rest; but the wind abating the next day, we made a shift to reach Amboy before night, having been thirty hours on the water, without victuals, or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum, the water we sailed on being salt.

In the evening I found myself very feverish, and went in to bed; but having read somewhere that cold water drank plentifully was good for a fever, I followed the prescription, sweat plentifully most of the night, my fever left me, and in the morning, crossing the ferry, I proceeded on my journey on foot, having fifty miles to Burlington, where I was told I should find boats that would carry me the rest of the way to Philadelphia.

FRANKLIN THE YOUTH

This statue, which stands in the grounds of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, shows Franklin on his long tramp through New Jersey in October, 1723.

It rained very hard all the day; I was thoroughly soaked, and by noon a good deal tired; so I stopped at a poor inn, where I stayed all night, beginning now to wish that I had never left home. I cut so miserable a figure, too, that I found, by the questions asked me, I was suspected to be some runaway servant, and in danger of being taken up on that suspicion. However, I proceeded the next day, and got in the evening to an inn, within eight or ten miles of Burlington, kept by one Dr. Brown. He entered into conversation with me while I took some refreshment, and,

finding I had read a little, became very sociable and friendly. Our acquaintance continued as long as he lived. He had been, I imagine, an itinerant doctor, for there was no town in England, or country in Europe, of which he could not give a very particular account. He had some letters, and was ingenious, but much of an unbeliever, and wickedly undertook, some years after, to travesty the Bible in doggerel verse, as Cotton had done Virgil. By this means he set many of the facts in a very ridiculous light, and might have hurt weak minds if his work had been published; but it never was.

At his house I lay that night, and the next morning reached Burlington, but had the mortification to find that the regular boats were gone a little before my coming, and no other expected to go before Tuesday, this being Saturday; wherefore I returned to an old woman in the town, of whom I had bought gingerbread to eat on the water, and asked her advice. She invited me to lodge at her house till a passage by water should offer; and being tired with my foot travelling, I accepted the invitation. She, understanding I was a printer, would have had me stay at that town and follow my business, being ignorant of the stock necessary to begin with. She was very hospitable, gave me a dinner of ox-cheek with great good-will, accepting only of a pot of ale in return; and I thought myself fixed till Tuesday should come. However, walking in the evening by the side of the river, a boat came by, which I found was going towards Philadelphia, with several people in her. They took me in, and, as there was no wind, we rowed all the way; and about midnight, not having yet seen the city, some of the company were confident we must have passed it, and would row no farther;

the others knew not where we were; so we put toward the shore, got into a creek, landed near an old fence, with the rails of which we made a fire, the night being cold, in October, and there we remained till daylight. Then one of the company knew the place to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia, which we saw as soon as we got out of the creek, and arrived there about eight or nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, and landed at the Market Street wharf.

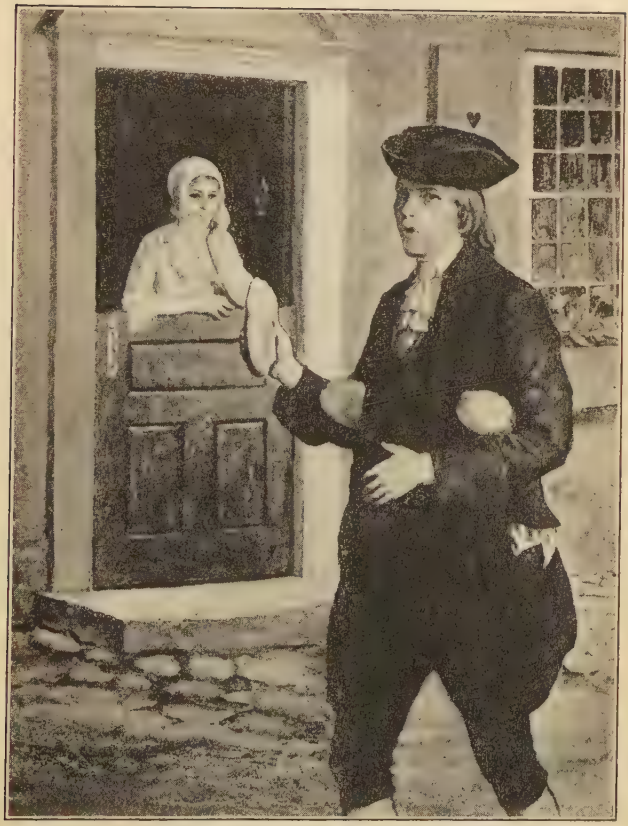
I have been the more particular in this description of my journey, and shall be so of my first entry into that city, that you may in your mind compare such unlikely beginnings with the figure I have since made there. I was in my working-dress, my best clothes being to come round by sea. I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no soul nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest; I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar, and about a shilling in copper. The latter I gave the people of the boat for my passage, who at first refused it on account of my rowing; but I insisted on their taking it, a man being sometimes more generous when he has but a little money than when he has plenty, perhaps through fear of being thought to have but little.

Then I walked up the street, gazing about till near the market-house I met a boy with bread. I had made many a meal on bread, and inquiring where he got it, I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to, in Second Street, and asked for biscuit, intending such as we had in Boston; but they, it seems, were not made in Philadelphia. Then I asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had

none such. So not considering or knowing the difference of money, and the greater cheapness nor the names of his bread, I bade him give me three-penny worth of any sort. He gave me, accordingly, three great puffy rolls. I was surprised at the quantity, but took it, and having no room in my pockets, walked off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market Street as far as Fourth Street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut Street and part of Walnut Street, eating my roll all the way, and coming round, found myself again at Market Street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and after looking round a while and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy through labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was, therefore, the first house I was in or slept in, in Philadelphia.

Walking down again toward the river, and looking in the faces of people, I met a young Quaker man, whose countenance I liked, and, accosting him, requested he would tell me where a stranger could get lodging. We were then near



Underwood & Underwood

FRANKLIN'S FIRST MEAL IN PHILADELPHIA

the sign of the Three Mariners. "Here," says he, "is one place that entertains strangers, but it is not a reputable house; if thee wilt walk with me, I'll show thee a better." He brought me to the Crooked Billet in Water Street. Here I got a dinner; and while I was eating it, several sly questions were asked me, as it seemed to be suspected from my youth and appearance that I might be some runaway.

After dinner, my sleepiness returned, and being shown to a bed, I lay down without undressing, and slept till six in the evening, was called to supper, went to bed again very early, and slept soundly till next morning. Then I made myself as tidy as I could, and went to Andrew Bradford the printer's. I found in the shop the old man his father, whom I had seen at New York, and who, traveling on horseback, had got to Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his son, who received me civilly, gave me a breakfast, but told me he did not at present want a hand, being lately supplied with one; but there was another printer in town, lately set up, one Keimer, who, perhaps, might employ me; if not, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work to do now and then till fuller business should offer.

The old gentleman said he would go with me to the new printer; and when we found him, "Neighbor," says Bradford, "I have brought to see you a young man of your business; perhaps you may want such a one." He asked me a few questions, put a composing stick in my hand to see how I worked, and then said he would employ me soon, though he had just then nothing for me to do; and taking old Bradford, whom he had never seen before, to be one of the town's people that had a good will for him, entered into a conversation on his present undertaking and prospects;

while Bradford, not discovering that he was the other printer's father, on Keimer's saying he expected soon to get the greatest part of the business into his own hands, drew him on by artful questions, and starting little doubts, to explain all his views, what interests he relied on, and in what manner he intended to proceed. I, who stood by and heard all, saw immediately that one of them was a crafty old sophister, and the other a mere novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was greatly surprised when I told him who the old man was.

Keimer's printing-house, I found, consisted of an old shattered press, and one small, worn-out font of English, which he was then using himself, composing an Elegy on Aquila Rose, before mentioned, an ingenious young man, of excellent character, much respected in the town, clerk of the Assembly, and a pretty poet. Keimer made verses, too, but very indifferently. He could not be said to write them, for his manner was to compose them in the types directly out of his head. So there being no copy, but one pair of cases, and the Elegy likely to require all the letter, no one could help him. I endeavored to put his press (which he had not yet used, and of which he understood nothing) into order fit to be worked with; and promising to come and print off his Elegy as soon as he should have got it ready, I returned to Bradford's, who gave me a little job to do for the present, and there I lodged and dieted. A few days after, Keimer sent for me to print off the Elegy. And now he had got another pair of cases, and a pamphlet to reprint, on which he set me to work.

These two printers I found poorly qualified for their business. Bradford had not been bred to it, and was very illiterate; and Keimer, though something of a scholar, was

a mere compositor, knowing nothing of presswork. He had been one of the French prophets, and could act their enthusiastic agitations. At this time he did not profess any particular religion, but something of all on occasion; was very ignorant of the world, and had, as I afterward found, a good deal of the knave in his composition. He did not like my lodging at Bradford's while I worked with him. He had a house indeed, but without furniture, so he could not lodge me; but he got me a lodging at Mr. Read's before mentioned, who was the owner of his house; and my chest and clothes being come by this time, I made rather a more respectable appearance in the eyes of Miss Read than I had done when she first happened to see me eating my roll in the street.

I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly; and gaining money by my industry and frugality, I lived very agreeably, forgetting Boston as much as I could, and not desiring that any there should know where I resided except my friend Collins, who was in my secret, and kept it when I wrote to him. At length, an incident happened that sent me back again much sooner than I had intended. I had a brother-in-law, Robert Holmes, master of a sloop that traded between Boston and Delaware. He being at Newcastle, forty miles below Philadelphia, heard there of me, and wrote me a letter mentioning the concern of my friends in Boston at my abrupt departure, assuring me of their good-will to me, and that everything would be accommodated to my mind if I would return, to which he exhorted me very earnestly. I wrote an answer to his letter, thanked him for his advice, but stated my reasons for quit-

ting Boston fully and in such a light as to convince him I was not so wrong as he had apprehended.

Sir William Keith, governor of the province, was then at Newcastle, and Captain Holmes, happening to be in company with him when my letter came to hand, spoke to him of me, and showed him the letter. The governor read it, and seemed surprised when he was told my age. He said I appeared a young man of promising parts, and therefore should be encouraged; the printers at Philadelphia were wretched ones; and, if I would set up there, he made no doubt I should succeed; for his part, he would procure me the public business, and do me every other service in his power. This my brother-in-law afterwards told me in Boston, but I knew as yet nothing of it; when, one day, Keimer and I being at work together near the window, we saw the governor and another gentleman (which proved to be Colonel French of Newcastle), finely dressed, come directly across the street to our house, and heard them at the door.

Keimer ran down immediately, thinking it a visit to him; but the governor inquired for me, came up, and with a condescension and politeness I had been quite unused to made me many compliments, desired to be acquainted with me, blamed me kindly for not having made myself known to him when I first came to the place, and would have me away with him to the tavern, where he was going with Colonel French to taste, as he said, some excellent Madeira. I was not a little surprised, and Keimer stared like a pig poisoned. I went, however, with the governor and Colonel French to a tavern, at the corner of Third Street, and over the Madeira he proposed my setting up my business, laid before me the probabilities of success,

and both he and Colonel French assured me I should have their interest and influence in procuring the public business of both governments. On my doubting whether my father would assist me in it, Sir William said he would give me a letter to him, in which he would state the advantages, and he did not doubt of prevailing with him. So it was concluded I should return to Boston in the first vessel, with the governor's letter recommending me to my father. In the mean time the intention was to be kept a secret, and I went on working with Keimer as usual, the governor sending for me now and then to dine with him, a very great honor I thought it, and conversing with me in the most affable, familiar, and friendly manner imaginable.

CHAPTER V

THE PATRONAGE OF A GOVERNOR

About the end of April, 1724, a little vessel offered for Boston. I took leave of Keimer as going to see my friends. The governor gave me an ample letter, saying many flattering things of me to my father, and strongly recommending the project of my setting up at Philadelphia as a thing that must make my fortune. We struck on a shoal in going down the bay, and sprung a leak; we had a blustering time at sea, and were obliged to pump almost continually, at which I took my turn. We arrived safe, however, at Boston in about a fortnight. I had been absent seven months, and my friends had heard nothing of me; for my brother Holmes was not yet returned, and had not written about me. My unexpected appearance surprised the family; all were, however, very glad to see me, and made me welcome, except my brother. I went to see him at his printing-house. I was better dressed than ever while in his service, having a genteel new suit from head to foot, a watch, and my pockets lined with near five pounds sterling in silver. He received me not very frankly, looked me all over, and turned to his work again.

The journeymen were inquisitive where I had been, what sort of a country it was, and how I liked it. I praised it much, and the happy life I led in it, expressing strongly my intention of returning to it; and one of them asking what kind of money we had there, I produced a

handful of silver, and spread it before them, which was a kind of raree-show they had not been used to, paper being the money of Boston. Then I took an opportunity of letting them see my watch; and, lastly (my brother still grum and sullen), I gave them a piece of eight to drink, and took my leave. This visit of mine offended him extremely; for, when my mother some time after spoke to him of a reconciliation, and of her wishes to see us on good terms together, and that we might live for the future as brothers, he said I had insulted him in such a manner before his people that he could never forget or forgive it. In this, however, he was mistaken.

My father received the governor's letter with some apparent surprise, but said little of it to me for some days, when Captain Holmes returning he showed it to him, asked him if he knew Keith, and what kind of man he was; adding his opinion that he must be of small discretion to think of setting a boy up in business who wanted yet three years of being at man's estate. Holmes said what he could in favor of the project, but my father was clear in the impropriety of it, and at last gave a flat denial to it. Then he wrote a civil letter to Sir William, thanking him for the patronage he had so kindly offered me, but declining to assist me as yet in setting up, I being, in his opinion, too young to be trusted with the management of a business so important, and for which the preparation must be so expensive.

My friend and companion Collins, who was a clerk in the post-office, pleased with the account I gave him of my new country, determined to go thither also; and, while I waited for my father's determination, he set out before me by land to Rhode Island, leaving his books,

which were a pretty collection of mathematics and natural philosophy, to come with mine and me to New York, where he proposed to wait for me.

My father, though he did not approve Sir William's proposition, was yet pleased that I had been able to obtain so advantageous a character from a person of such note where I had resided, and that I had been so industrious and careful as to equip myself so handsomely in so short a time; therefore, seeing no prospect of an accommodation between my brother and me, he gave his consent to my returning again to Philadelphia, advised me to behave respectfully to the people there, endeavor to obtain the general esteem, and avoid lampooning and libelling, to which he thought I had too much inclination; telling me, that by steady industry and a prudent parsimony I might save enough by the time I was one-and-twenty to set me up; and that, if I came near the matter, he would help me out with the rest. This was all I could obtain, except some small gifts as tokens of his and my mother's love, when I embarked again for New York, now with their approbation and their blessing.

The sloop putting in at Newport, Rhode Island, I visited my brother John, who had been married and settled there some years. He received me very affectionately, for he always loved me. A friend of his, one Vernon, having some money due to him in Pennsylvania, about thirty-five pounds currency, desired I would receive it for him, and keep it till I had his directions what to remit it in. Accordingly, he gave me an order. This afterwards occasioned me a good deal of uneasiness.

At Newport we took in a number of passengers for New York, among which were two young women, companions,

and a grave, sensible, matron-like Quaker woman, with her attendants. I had shown an obliging readiness to do her some little services, which impressed her I suppose with a degree of good will toward me; therefore, when she saw a daily growing familiarity between me and the two young women, which they appeared to encourage, she took me aside, and said, "Young man, I am concerned for thee, as thou has no friend with thee, and seems not to know much of the world, or of the snares youth is exposed to; depend upon it, those are very bad women; I can see it in all their actions; and if thee art not upon thy guard, they will draw thee into some danger; they are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, in a friendly concern for thy welfare, to have no acquaintance with them." As I seemed at first not to think so ill of them as she did, she mentioned some things she had observed and heard that had escaped my notice, but now convinced me she was right. I thanked her for her kind advice, and promised to follow it. When we arrived at New York, they told me where they lived, and invited me to come and see them; but I avoided it, and it was well I did; for the next day the captain, missing a silver spoon and some other things, that had been taken out of his cabin, got a warrant to search their lodgings, found the stolen goods, and had the thieves punished. So, though we had escaped a sunken rock, which we scraped upon in the passage, I thought this escape of rather more importance to me.

At New York I found my friend Collins, who had arrived there some time before me. We had been intimate from children, and had read the same books together; but he had the advantage of more time for reading and studying, and a wonderful genius for mathematical learn-

ing, in which he far outstripped me. While I lived in Boston, most of my hours of leisure for conversation were spent with him, and he continued a sober as well as an industrious lad; was much respected for his learning by several of the clergy and other gentlemen, and seemed to promise making a good figure in life. But during my absence, he had acquired a habit of sotting with brandy; and I found by his own account, and what I heard from others, that he had been drunk every day since his arrival at New York, and behaved very oddly. He had gamed, too, and lost his money, so that I was obliged to discharge his lodgings, and defray his expenses to and at Philadelphia, which proved extremely inconvenient to me.

The then governor of New York, Burnet (son of Bishop Burnet), hearing from the captain that a young man, one of his passengers, had a great many books, desired he would bring me to see him. I waited upon him accordingly, and should have taken Collins with me but that he was not sober. The governor treated me with great civility, showed me his library, which was a very large one, and we had a good deal of conversation about books and authors. This was the second governor who had done me the honor to take notice of me; which, to a poor boy like me, was very pleasing.

We proceeded to Philadelphia. I received on the way Vernon's money, without which we could hardly have finished our journey. Collins wished to be employed in some counting-house; but, whether they discovered his dramming by his breath, or by his behavior, though he had some recommendations, he met with no success in any application, and continued lodging and boarding at the same house with me, and at my expense. Knowing I had

that money of Vernon's, he was continually borrowing of me, still promising repayment as soon as he should be in business. At length he had got so much of it that I was distressed to think what I should do in case of being called on to remit it.

His drinking continued, about which we sometimes quarrelled; for, when a little intoxicated, he was very fractious. Once, in a boat on the Delaware with some other young men, he refused to row in his turn. "I will be rowed home," says he. "We will not row you," says I. "You must, or stay all night on the water," says he, "just as you please." The others said, "Let us row; what signifies it?" But, my mind being soured with his other conduct, I continued to refuse. So he swore he would make me row, or throw me overboard; and coming along, stepping on the thwarts, toward me, when he came up and struck at me, I clapped my hand under his leg, and, rising, pitched him head-foremost into the river. I knew he was a good swimmer, and so was under little concern about him; but before he could get round to lay hold of the boat, we had with a few strokes pulled her out of his reach; and ever when he drew near the boat, we asked if he would row, striking a few strokes to slide her away from him. He was ready to die with vexation, and obstinately would not promise to row. However, seeing him at last beginning to tire we lifted him in and brought him home dripping wet

Harper & Brothers

"We had with a few strokes pulled her out of his reach."

in the evening. We hardly exchanged a civil word afterwards, and a West India captain, who had a commission to procure a tutor for the sons of a gentleman at Barbadoes, happening to meet with him, agreed to carry him thither. He left me then, promising to remit me the first money he should receive in order to discharge the debt; but I never heard of him after.

The breaking into this money of Vernon's was one of the first great errata of my life; and this affair showed that my father was not much out in his judgment when he supposed me too young to manage business of importance. But Sir William, on reading his letter, said he was too prudent. There was a great difference in persons; and discretion did not always accompany years, nor was youth always without it. "And since he will not set you up," says he, "I will do it myself. Give me an inventory of the things necessary to be had from England, and I will send for them. You shall repay me when you are able; I am resolved to have a good printer here, and I am sure you must succeed." This was spoken with such an appearance of cordiality that I had not the least doubt of his meaning what he said. I had hitherto kept the proposition of my setting up a secret in Philadelphia, and I still kept it. Had it been known that I depended on the governor, probably some friend, that knew him better, would have advised me not to rely on him, as I afterwards heard it as his known character to be liberal of promises which he never meant to keep. Yet, unsolicited as he was by me, how could I think his generous offers insincere? I believed him one of the best men in the world.

I presented him an inventory of a little printing-house, amounting by my computation to about one hundred

pounds sterling. He liked it, but asked me if my being on the spot in England to choose the types, and see that everything was good of the kind, might not be of some advantage. "Then," says he, "when there, you may make acquaintances, and establish correspondences in the book-selling and stationery way." I agreed that this might be advantageous. "Then," says he, "get yourself ready to go with Annis," which was the annual ship, and the only one at that time usually passing between London and Philadelphia. But it would be some months before Annis sailed, so I continued working with Keimer, fretting about the money Collins had got from me, and in daily apprehensions of being called upon by Vernon, which, however, did not happen for some years after.

I believe I have omitted mentioning that, in my first voyage from Boston, being becalmed off Block Island, our people set about catching cod, and hauled up a great many. Hitherto I had stuck to my resolution of not eating animal food, and on this occasion I considered, with my master Tryon, the taking every fish as a kind of unprovoked murder, since none of them had, or ever could do us any injury that might justify the slaughter. All this seemed very reasonable. But I had formerly been a great lover of fish, and, when this came hot out of the frying-pan, it smelt admirably well. I balanced some time between principle and inclination, till I recollected that, when the fish were opened, I saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs; then thought I, "If you eat one another, I don't see why we mayn't eat you." So I dined upon cod very heartily, and continued to eat with other people, returning only now and then occasionally to a vegetable diet. So convenient a thing it is to be a reasonable crea-

ture, since it enables one to find or make a reason for everything one has a mind to do.

Keimer and I lived on a pretty good familiar footing, and agreed tolerably well, for he suspected nothing of my setting up. He retained a great deal of his old enthusiasm and loved argumentation. We therefore had many disputations. I used to work him so with my Socratic method, and trepanned him so often by questions apparently so distant from any point we had in hand, and yet by degrees led to the point, and brought him into difficulties and contradictions, that at last he grew ridiculously cautious, and would hardly answer me the most common question, without asking first, "What do you intend to infer from that?" However, it gave him so high an opinion of my abilities in the confuting way, that he seriously proposed my being his colleague in a project he had of setting up a new sect. He was to preach the doctrines, and I was to confound all opponents. When he came to explain with me upon the doctrines, I found several conundrums which I objected to, unless I might have my way a little, too, and introduce some of mine.

Keimer wore his beard at full length, because somewhere in the Mosaic law it is said, "Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard." He likewise kept the Seventh day, Sabbath; and these two points were essentials with him. I disliked both; but agreed to admit them upon condition of his adopting the doctrine of using no animal food. "I doubt," said he, "my constitution will not bear that." I assured him it would, and that he would be the better for it. He was usually a great glutton, and I promised myself some diversion in half starving him. He agreed to try the practice, if I would keep him company. I did so, and we

held it for three months. We had our victuals dressed, and brought to us regularly by a woman in the neighborhood, who had from me a list of forty dishes, to be prepared for us at different times, in all of which there was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, and the whim suited me the better at this time from the cheapness of it, not costing us above eighteen pence sterling each per week. I have since kept several Lents most strictly, leaving the common diet for that and that for the common, abruptly without the least inconvenience, so that I think that there is little in the advice of making those changes by easy gradations. I went on pleasantly, but poor Keimer suffered grievously, tired of the project, longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and ordered a roast pig. He invited me and two women friends to dine with him; but, it being too soon upon the table, he could not resist the temptation, and ate the whole before we came.

I had made some courtship during this time to Miss Read. I had a great respect and affection for her, and had some reason to believe she had the same for me; but as I was about to take a long voyage, and we were both very young, only a little above eighteen, it was thought most prudent by her mother to prevent our going too far at present, as a marriage, if it was to take place, would be more convenient after my return, when I should be, as I expected, set up in my business. Perhaps, too, she thought my expectations not so well founded as I imagined them to be.

My chief acquaintances at this time were Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson, and James Ralph, all lovers of reading. The two first were clerks to an eminent scrivener or conveyancer in the town, Charles Brockden; the other

was clerk to a merchant. Watson was a pious, sensible young man, of great integrity; the others rather more lax in their principles of religion, particularly Ralph, who as well as Collins, had been unsettled by me, for which they both made me suffer. Osborne was sensible, candid, frank, sincere and affectionate to his friends, but in literary matters, too fond of criticising. Ralph was ingenious, genteel in his manners, and extremely eloquent; I think I never knew a prettier talker. Both of them were great admirers of poetry, and began to try their hands in little pieces. Many pleasant walks we four had together on Sundays into the woods, near Schuylkill, where we read to one another, and conferred on what we read.

Ralph was inclined to pursue the study of poetry, not doubting but he might become eminent in it and make his fortune by it, alleging that the best poets must, when they first began to write, make as many faults as he did. Osborne dissuaded him, assured him he had no genius for poetry, and advised him to think of nothing beyond the business he was bred to; that in the mercantile way, though he had no stock, he might by his diligence and punctuality recommend himself to employment as a factor, and in time acquire wherewith to trade on his own account. I approved the amusing one's self with poetry now and then, so far as to improve one's language, but no farther.

On this it was proposed that we should each of us, at our next meeting, produce a piece of our own composing, in order to improve by our mutual observations, criticisms, and corrections. As language and expression were what we had in view, we excluded all considerations of invention by agreeing that the task should be a version of the eight-

eenth Psalm, which describes the descent of a Deity. When the time of our meeting drew nigh, Ralph called on me first, and let me know his piece was ready. I told him I had been busy, and having little inclination, had done nothing. He then showed me his piece for my opinion, and I much approved it, as it appeared to me to have great merit. "Now," says he, "Osborne never will allow the least merit in anything of mine, but makes a thousand criticisms out of mere envy. He is not so jealous of you; I wish, therefore, you would take this piece, and produce it as yours; I will pretend not to have had time, and so produce nothing. We shall then see what he will say to it." It was agreed, and I immediately transcribed it, that it might appear in my own hand.

We met; Watson's performance was read; there were some beauties in it, but many defects. Osborne's was read; it was much better; Ralph did it justice; remarked some faults, but applauded the beauties. He himself had nothing to produce. I was backward; seemed desirous of being excused; had not had sufficient time to correct, etc.; but no excuse could be admitted; produce I must. It was read and repeated; Watson and Osborne gave up the contest, and joined in applauding it. Ralph only made some criticisms, and proposed some amendments; but I defended my text. Osborne was against Ralph, and told him he was no better a critic than poet; so he dropped the argument. As they two went home together, Osborne expressed himself still more strongly in favor of what he thought my production; having restrained himself before, as he said, lest I should think it flattery. "But who would have imagined," said he, "that Franklin had been capable of such a performance; such painting, such force, such

fire! He has even improved the original. In his common conversation he seems to have no choice of words; he hesitates and blunders; and yet, good God! how he writes!" When we next met, Ralph discovered the trick we had played him, and Osborne was a little laughed at.

This transaction fixed Ralph in his resolution of becoming a poet. I did all I could to dissuade him from it, but he continued scribbling verses till Pope cured him. He became, however, a pretty good prose writer. More of him hereafter. But, as I may not have occasion again to mention the other two, I shall just remark here, that Watson died in my arms a few years after, much lamented, being the best of our set. Osborne went to the West Indies, where he became an eminent lawyer and made money, but died young. He and I had made a serious agreement, that the one who happened first to die should, if possible, make a friendly visit to the other, and acquaint him how he found things in that separate state. But he never fulfilled his promise.

The governor, seeming to like my company, had me frequently to his house, and his setting me up was always mentioned as a fixed thing. I was to take with me letters recommendatory to a number of his friends, besides the letter of credit to furnish me with the necessary money for purchasing the press and types, paper, etc. For these letters I was appointed to call at different times, when they were to be ready; but a future time was still named. Thus he went on till the ship, whose departure too had been several times postponed, was on the point of sailing. Then, when I called to take my leave and receive the letters, his secretary, Dr. Baird, came out to me and said the governor was extremely busy in writing, but would be

down at Newcastle before the ship, and there the letters would be delivered to me.

Ralph, though married, and having one child, had determined to accompany me in this voyage. It was thought he intended to establish a correspondence, and obtain goods to sell on commission; but I found afterwards, that, through some discontent with his wife's relations, he purposed to leave her on their hands, and never return again. Having taken leave of my friends, and interchanged some promises with Miss Read, I left Philadelphia in the ship, which anchored at Newcastle. The governor was there; but when I went to his lodging, the secretary came to me from him with the civilest message in the world, that he could not then see me, being engaged in business of the utmost importance, but should send the letters to me on board, wished me heartily a good voyage and a speedy return, etc. I returned on board a little puzzled, but still not doubting.

CHAPTER VI

ADVENTURES IN LONDON

Mr. Andrew Hamilton, a famous lawyer of Philadelphia, had taken passage in the same ship for himself and son, and with Mr. Denham, a Quaker merchant, and Messrs. Onion and Russel, masters of an iron work in Maryland, had engaged the great cabin; so that Ralph and I were forced to take up with a berth in the steerage, and none on board knowing us, were considered as ordinary persons. But Mr. Hamilton and his son (it was James, since governor) returned from Newcastle to Philadelphia, the father being recalled by a great fee to plead for a seized ship; and, just before we sailed, Colonel French coming on board, and showing me great respect, I was more taken notice of, and, with my friend Ralph, invited by the other gentlemen to come into the cabin, there being now room. Accordingly, we removed thither.

Understanding that Colonel French had brought on board the governor's dispatches, I asked the captain for those letters that were to be under my care. He said all were put into the bag together and he could not then come at them; but, before we landed in England, I should have an opportunity of picking them out, so I was satisfied for the present, and we proceeded on our voyage. We had a sociable company in the cabin, and lived uncommonly well, having the addition of all Mr. Hamilton's stores, who had laid in plentifully. In this passage Mr. Denham con-

tracted a friendship for me that continued during his life. The voyage was otherwise not a pleasant one, as we had a great deal of bad weather.

When we came into the Channel, the captain kept his word with me, and gave me an opportunity of examining the bag for the governor's letters. I found none upon which my name was put as under my care. I picked out six or seven, that, by the handwriting, I thought might be the promised letters, especially as one of them was directed to Basket, the king's printer, and another to some stationer. We arrived in London the 24th of December, 1724. I waited upon the stationer, who came first in my way, delivering the letter as from Governor Keith. "I don't know such a person," says he; but, opening the letter, "Oh! this is from Riddlesden. I have lately found him to be a complete rascal, and I will have nothing to do with him, nor receive any letters from him." So, putting the letter into my hand, he turned on his heel and left me to serve some customer. I was surprised to find these were not the governor's letters; and, after recollecting and comparing circumstances, I began to doubt his sincerity. I found my friend Denham, and opened the whole affair to him. He let me into Keith's character; told me there was not the least probability that he had written any letters for me; that no one, who knew him, had the smallest dependence on him; and he laughed at the notion of the governor's giving me a letter of credit, having, as he said, no credit to give. On my expressing some concern about what I should do, he advised me to endeavor getting some employment in the way of my business. "Among the printers here," said he, "you will improve yourself, and when you return to America, you will set up to greater advantage."

We both of us happened to know, as well as the stationer, that Riddlesden, the attorney, was a very knave. He had half ruined Miss Read's father by persuading him to be bound for him. By this letter it appeared there was a secret scheme on foot to the prejudice of Hamilton (supposed to be then coming over with us); and that Keith was concerned in it with Riddlesden. Denham, who was a friend of Hamilton's, thought he ought to be acquainted with it; so, when he arrived in England, which was soon after, partly from resentment and ill-will to Keith and Riddlesden, and partly from good-will to him, I waited on him, and gave him the letter. He thanked me cordially, the information being of importance to him; and from that time he became my friend, greatly to my advantage afterwards on many occasions.

But what shall we think of a governor's playing such pitiful tricks, and imposing so grossly on a poor ignorant boy! It was a habit he had acquired. He wished to please everybody; and, having little to give, he gave expectations. He was otherwise an ingenious, sensible man, a pretty good writer, and a good governor for the people, though not for his constituents, the proprietaries, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded. Several of our best laws were of his planning and passed during his administration.

Ralph and I were inseparable companions. We took lodgings together in Little Britain at three shillings and sixpence a week — as much as we could then afford. He found some relations, but they were poor, and unable to assist him. He now let me know his intentions of remaining in London, and that he never meant to return to Philadelphia. He had brought no money with him, the

whole he could muster having been expended in paying his passage. I had fifteen pistoles; so he borrowed occasionally of me to subsist while he was looking out for business. He first endeavored to get into the playhouse, believing himself qualified for an actor; but Wilkes, to whom he applied, advised him candidly not to think of that employment, as it was impossible he should succeed in it. Then he proposed to Roberts, a publisher in Paternoster Row, to write for him a weekly paper like the *Spectator*, on certain conditions, which Roberts did not approve. Then he endeavored to get employment as a hackney writer, to copy for the stationers and lawyers about the Temple, but could find no vacancy.

I immediately got into work at Palmer's, then a famous printing-house in Bartholomew Close, and here I continued near a year. I was pretty diligent, but spent with Ralph a good deal of my earnings in going to plays and other places of amusement. We had together consumed all my pistoles, and now just rubbed on from hand to mouth. He seemed quite to forget his wife and child, and I, by degrees, my engagements with Miss Read, to whom I never wrote more than one letter, and that was to let her know I was not likely soon to return. This was another of the great errata of my life, which I should wish to correct if I were to live it over again. In fact, by our expenses, I was constantly kept unable to pay my passage.

At Palmer's I was employed in composing for the second edition of Wollaston's *Religion of Nature*. Some of his reasonings not appearing to me well founded, I wrote a little metaphysical piece in which I made remarks on them. It was entitled *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain*. I inscribed it to my friend Ralph; I

printed a small number. It occasioned my being more considered by Mr. Palmer as a young man of some ingenuity, though he seriously expostulated with me upon the principles of my pamphlet, which to him appeared abominable. My printing this pamphlet was another erratum. While I lodged in Little Britain, I made an acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was at the next door. He had an immense collection of second-hand books. Circulating libraries were not then in use; but we agreed that, on certain reasonable terms, which I have now forgotten, I might take, read, and return any of his books. This I esteemed a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could.

My pamphlet by some means falling into the hands of one Lyons, a surgeon, author of a book entitled *The Infallibility of Human Judgment*, it occasioned an acquaintance between us. He took great notice of me, called on me often to converse on those subjects, carried me to the Horns, a pale-ale house in —— Lane, Cheapside, and introduced me to Dr. Mandeville, author of the *Fable of the Bees*, who had a club there, of which he was the soul, being a most facetious, entertaining companion. Lyons, too, introduced me to Dr. Pemberton, at Batson's Coffee-house, who promised to give me an opportunity, some time or other, of seeing Sir Isaac Newton, of which I was extremely desirous; but this never happened.

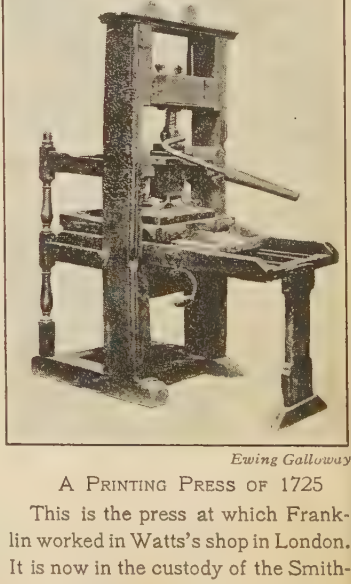
I had brought over a few curiosities, among which the principal was a purse made of the asbestos, which purifies by fire. Sir Hans Sloane heard of it, came to see me, and invited me to his house in Bloomsbury Square, where he showed me all his curiosities, and persuaded me to let him add that to the number, for which he paid me handsomely.

Ralph, being still out of business, now took a resolution of going from London, to try for a country school, which he thought himself well qualified to undertake, as he wrote an excellent hand, and was a master of arithmetic and accounts. This, however, he deemed a business below him, and confident of future better fortune, when he should be unwilling to have it known that he once was so meanly employed, he changed his name, and did me the honor to assume mine; for I soon after had a letter from him, acquainting me that he was settled in a small village (in Berkshire, I think it was, where he taught reading and writing to ten or a dozen boys, at sixpence each per week), and desiring me to write to him, directing for Mr. Franklin, schoolmaster at such a place.

He continued to write frequently, sending me large specimens of an epic poem which he was then composing, and desiring my remarks and corrections. These I gave him from time to time, but endeavored rather to discourage his proceeding. One of Young's *Satires* was then just published. I copied and sent him a great part of it, which set in a strong light the folly of pursuing the Muses with any hope of advancement by them. All was in vain; sheets of the poem continued to come by every post. In the mean time other circumstances made a breach between us; and, when he returned again to London, he let me know he thought I had cancelled all the obligations he had been under to me. So I found I was never to expect his repaying me what I lent to him, or advanced for him. This, however, was not then of much consequence, as he was totally unable; and in the loss of his friendship I found myself relieved from a burden. I now began to think of getting a little money beforehand, and, expecting

better work, I left Palmer's to work at Watts's, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, a still greater printing house. Here I continued all the rest of my stay in London.

At my first admission into this printing-house I took to working at press, imagining I felt a want of the bodily exercise I had been used to in America, where presswork is mixed with composing. I drank only water; the other workmen, near fifty in number, were great guzzlers of beer. On occasion, I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both hands. They wondered to see, from this and several instances, that the Water-American, as they called me, was stronger than themselves, who drank strong beer! We had an alehouse boy who attended always in the house to supply the workmen. My companion at the press drank every day a pint before breakfast, a pint at breakfast with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner, a pint at dinner, a pint in the afternoon about six o'clock, and another when he had done his day's work. I thought



Ewing Galloway

A Printing Press of 1725

This is the press at which Franklin worked in Watts's shop in London. It is now in the custody of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

it a detestable custom; but it was necessary, he supposed, to drink strong beer, that he might be strong to labor. I endeavored to convince him that the bodily strength afforded by beer could only be in proportion to the grain or flour of the barley dissolved in the water of which it was made; that there was more flour in a pennyworth of bread; and therefore, if he would eat that with a pint of water, it would give him more strength than a quart of beer. He drank on, however, and had four or five shillings to pay out of his wages every Saturday night for that muddling liquor; an expense I was free from. And thus these poor devils kept themselves always under.

Watts, after some weeks, desiring to have me in the composing-room, I left the pressmen; a new *bien venu*, or sum for drink, being five shillings, was demanded of me by the compositors. I thought it an imposition, as I had paid below; the master thought so too, and forbade my paying it. I stood out two or three weeks, was accordingly considered as an excommunicate, and had so many little pieces of private mischief done me, by mixing my sorts, transposing my pages, breaking my matter, etc., etc., if I were ever so little out of the room, and all ascribed to the chapel ghost, which they said ever haunted those not regularly admitted, that, notwithstanding the master's protection, I found myself obliged to comply and pay the money, convinced of the folly of being on ill terms with those one is to live with continually.

I was now on a fair footing with them, and soon acquired considerable influence. I proposed some reasonable alterations in their chapel laws, and carried them against all opposition. From my example, a great part of them left their muddling breakfast of beer, and bread, and cheese,

finding they could, with me, be supplied from a neighboring house with a large porringer of hot water-gruel, sprinkled with pepper, crumbed with bread, and a bit of butter in it, for the price of a pint of beer, viz., three half-pence. This was a more comfortable as well as cheaper breakfast, and kept their heads clearer. Those who continued sotting with beer all day were often, by not paying, out of credit at the alehouse, and used to make interest with me to get beer; their light, as they phrased it, being out. I watched the pay-table on Saturday night, and collected what I stood engaged for them, having to pay sometimes near thirty shillings a week on their accounts. This, and my being esteemed a pretty good riggite, that is, a jocular, verbal satirist, supported my consequence in the society. My constant attendance (I never making a St. Monday) recommended me to the master; and my uncommon quickness at composing occasioned my being put upon all work of dispatch, which was generally better paid. So I went on now very agreeably.

My lodging in Little Britain being too remote, I found another in Duke Street, opposite to the Romish chapel. It was two pair of stairs backwards, at an Italian warehouse. A widow lady kept the house. She had a daughter, and a maid servant, and a journeyman who attended the warehouse, but lodged abroad. After sending to inquire my character at the house where I last lodged, she agreed to take me in at the same rate, *3s. 6d.* per week; cheaper, as she said, from the protection she expected in having a man lodge in the house. She was a widow, an elderly woman; had been bred a Protestant, being a clergyman's daughter, but was converted to the Catholic religion by her husband, whose memory she

much revered; had lived much among people of distinction, and knew a thousand anecdotes of them as far back as the times of Charles the Second. She was lame in her knees with the gout, and, therefore, seldom stirred out of her room, so sometimes wanted company; and hers was so highly amusing to me, that I was sure to spend an evening with her whenever she desired it. Our supper was only half an anchovy each, on a very little strip of bread and butter, and half a pint of ale between us; but the entertainment was in her conversation. My always keeping good hours, and giving little trouble in the family, made her unwilling to part with me; so that, when I talked of a lodging I had heard of, nearer my business, for two shillings a week, which, intent as I now was on saving money, made some difference, she bid me not think of it, for she would abate me two shillings a week for the future; so I remained with her at one shilling and sixpence as long as I stayed in London.

In a garret of her house there lived a maiden lady of seventy, in the most retired manner, of whom my landlady gave me this account: that she was a Roman Catholic, had been sent abroad when young, and lodged in a nunnery with an intent of becoming a nun; but, the country not agreeing with her, she returned to England, where, there being no nunnery, she had vowed to lead the life of a nun, as near as might be done in those circumstances. Accordingly she had given all her estate to charitable uses, reserving only twelve pounds a year to live on, and out of this sum she still gave a great deal in charity, living herself on water-gruel only, and using no fire but to boil it. She had lived many years in that garret, being permitted to remain there gratis by successive Catholic tenants of the

house below, as they deemed it a blessing to have her there. A priest visited her to confess her every day. "I have asked her," says my landlady, "how she, as she lived, could possibly find so much employment for a confessor?" "Oh," said she, "it is impossible to avoid vain thoughts." I was permitted once to visit her. She was cheerful and polite, and conversed pleasantly. The room was clean, but had no other furniture than a mattress, a table with a crucifix and book, a stool which she gave me to sit on, and a picture over the chimney of Saint Veronica displaying her handkerchief, with the miraculous figure of Christ's bleeding face on it, which she explained to me with great seriousness. She looked pale, but was never sick; and I give it as another instance on how small an income life and health may be supported.

At Watts's printing-house I contracted an acquaintance with an ingenious young man, one Wygate, who, having wealthy relations, had been better educated than most printers; was a tolerable Latinist, spoke French, and loved reading. I taught him and a friend of his to swim at twice going into the river, and they soon became good swimmers. They introduced me to some gentlemen from the country, who went to Chelsea by water to see the College and Don Saltero's curiosities. In our return, at the request of the company, whose curiosity Wygate had excited, I stripped and leaped into the river, and swam from near Chelsea to Blackfriar's, performing on the way many feats of activity, both upon and under water, that surprised and pleased those to whom they were novelties.

I had from a child been ever delighted with this exercise, had studied and practised all Thevenot's motions and positions, added some of my own, aiming at the graceful

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ABOUT 1726

The Sumner portrait, as this picture used to be called, is supposed to have been painted in London when Franklin was twenty years old, and was brought to America by him and given to his brother John. The original is now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, the property of Harvard University.

and easy as well as the useful. All these I took this occasion of exhibiting to the company, and was much flattered by their admiration; and Wygate, who was desirous of becoming a master, grew more and more attached to me on that account, as well as from the similarity of our studies. He at length proposed to me travelling all over Europe together, supporting ourselves everywhere by working at our business. I was once inclined to it; but, mentioning it to my good friend Mr. Denham, with whom I often spent an hour when I had leisure, he dissuaded me from it, advising me to think only of returning to Pennsylvania, which he was now about to do.

I must record one trait of this good man's character. He had formerly been in business at Bristol, but failed in debt to a number of people, compounded and went to America. There, by a close application to business as a merchant, he acquired a plentiful fortune in a few years. Returning to England in the ship with me, he invited his old creditors to an entertainment, at which he thanked them for the easy composition they had favored him with, and, when they expected nothing but the treat, every man at the first remove found under his plate an order on a banker for the full amount of the unpaid remainder with interest.

He now told me he was about to return to Philadelphia, and should carry over a great quantity of goods in order to open a store there. He proposed to take me over as his clerk, to keep his books, in which he would instruct me, copy his letters, and attend the store. He added that, as soon as I should be acquainted with mercantile business, he would promote me by sending me with a cargo of flour and bread, etc., to the West Indies, and procure me com-

missions from others which would be profitable; and if I managed well, would establish me handsomely. The thing pleased me; for I was grown tired of London, remembered with pleasure the happy months I had spent in Pennsylvania, and wished again to see it; therefore I immediately agreed on the terms of fifty pounds a year, Pennsylvania money; less, indeed, than my present gettings as a compositor, but affording a better prospect.

I now took leave of printing, as I thought, forever, and was daily employed in my new business, going about with Mr. Denham among the tradesmen to purchase various articles, and seeing them packed up, doing errands, calling upon workmen to dispatch, etc.; and when all was on board, I had a few days' leisure. On one of these days, I was, to my surprise, sent for by a great man I knew only by name, a Sir William Wyndham, and I waited upon him. He had heard by some means or other of my swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriar's, and of my teaching Wygate and another young man to swim in a few hours. He had two sons, about to set out on their travels; he wished to have them first taught swimming, and proposed to gratify me handsomely if I would teach them. They were not yet come to town, and my stay was uncertain, so I could not undertake it; but from this incident, I thought it likely that if I were to remain in England and open a swimming-school I might get a good deal of money; and it struck me so strongly that, had the overture been sooner made me, probably I should not so soon have returned to America. After many years, you and I had something of more importance to do with one of these sons of Sir William Wyndham, become Earl of Egremont, which I shall mention in its place.

Thus I spent about eighteen months in London; most part of the time I worked hard at my business, and spent but little upon myself except in seeing plays and in books. My friend Ralph had kept me poor; he owed me about twenty-seven pounds, which I was now never likely to receive; a great sum out of my small earnings! I loved him, notwithstanding, for he had many amiable qualities. I had by no means improved my fortune; but I had picked up some very ingenious acquaintances, whose conversation was of great advantage to me; and I had read considerably.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHILADELPHIA PRINTER

We sailed from Gravesend on the 23d of July, 1726. For the incidents of the voyage, I refer you to my Journal, where you will find them all minutely related. Perhaps the most important part of that journal is the plan to be found in it which I formed at sea, for regulating my future conduct in life. It is the more remarkable, as being formed when I was so young, and yet being pretty faithfully adhered to quite through to old age.

We landed in Philadelphia on the 11th of October, where I found sundry alterations. Keith was no longer governor, being superseded by Major Gordon. I met him walking the streets as a common citizen. He seemed a little ashamed at seeing me, but passed without saying anything. I should have been as much ashamed at seeing Miss Read, had not her friends, despairing with reason of my return after the receipt of my letter, persuaded her to marry another, one Rogers, a potter, which was done in my absence. With him, however, she was never happy, and soon parted from him, refusing to bear his name, it now being said that he had another wife. He was a worthless fellow, though an excellent workman, which was the temptation to her friends. He got into debt, ran away in 1727 or 1728, went to the West Indies, and died there. Keimer had got a better house, a shop well supplied with stationery,

plenty of new types, a number of hands, though none good, and seemed to have a great deal of business.

Mr. Denham took a store in Water Street, where we opened our goods; I attended the business diligently, studied accounts, and grew in a little time expert at selling. We lodged and boarded together; he counselled me as a father, having a sincere regard for me. I respected and loved him, and we might have gone on together very happy; but in the beginning of February, 1727, when I had just passed my twenty-first year, we both were taken ill. My distemper was a pleurisy, which very nearly carried me off. I suffered a good deal, gave up the point in my own mind, and was rather disappointed when I found myself recovering, regretting, in some degree, that I must now, some time or other, have all that disagreeable work to do over again. I forget what his distemper was; it held him a long time, and at length carried him off. He left me a small legacy in a nuncupative will as a token of his kindness for me, and he left me once more to the wide world; for the store was taken into the care of his executors, and my employment under him ended.

My brother-in-law, Holmes, being now at Philadelphia, advised my return to my business; and Keimer tempted me, with an offer of large wages by the year, to come and take the management of his printing-house, that he might better attend his stationer's shop. I had heard a bad character of him in London from his wife and her friends, and was not fond of having any more to do with him. I tried for further employment as a merchant's clerk; but not readily meeting with any, I closed again with Keimer. I found in his house these hands: Hugh Meredith, a Welsh Pennsylvanian, thirty years of age, bred to country

work; honest, sensible, had a great deal of solid observation, was something of a reader, but given to drink. Stephen Potts, a young countryman of full age, bred to the same, of uncommon natural parts, and great wit and humor, but a little idle. These he had agreed with at extremely low wages per week, to be raised a shilling every three months, as they would deserve by improving in their business; and the expectation of these high wages, to come on hereafter, was what he had drawn them in with. Meredith was to work at press, Potts at bookbinding, which he, by agreement, was to teach them, though he knew neither one nor the other. John ——, a wild Irishman, brought up to no business, whose service, for four years, Keimer had purchased from the captain of a ship; he, too, was to be made a pressman. George Webb, an Oxford scholar, whose time for four years he had likewise bought, intending him for a compositor, of whom more presently; and David Harry, a country boy, whom he had taken apprentice.

I soon perceived that the intention of engaging me at wages so much higher than he had been used to give was to have these raw, cheap hands formed through me; and as soon as I had instructed them, then they being all articled to him, he should be able to do without me. I went on, however, very cheerfully, put his printing-house in order, which had been in great confusion, and brought his hands by degrees to mind their business and to do it better.

It was an odd thing to find an Oxford scholar in the situation of a bought servant. He was not more than eighteen years of age, and gave me this account of himself; that he was born in Gloucester, educated at a grammar-school there, had been distinguished among the scholars

for some apparent superiority in performing his part, when they exhibited plays; belonged to the Witty Club there, and had written some pieces in prose and verse, which were printed in the Gloucester newspapers; thence he was sent to Oxford where he continued about a year, but not well satisfied, wishing of all things to see London, and become a player. At length, receiving his quarterly allowance of fifteen guineas, instead of discharging his debts he walked out of town, hid his gown in a furze bush, and footed it to London, where, having no friend to advise him, he fell into bad company, soon spent his guineas, found no means of being introduced among the players, grew necessitous, pawned his clothes, and wanted bread. Walking the street very hungry, and not knowing what to do with himself, a crimp's bill was put into his hand, offering immediate entertainment and encouragement to such as would bind themselves to serve in America. He went directly, signed the indentures, was put into the ship, and came over, never writing a line to acquaint his friends what was become of him. He was lively, witty, good-natured, and a pleasant companion, but idle, thoughtless, and imprudent to the last degree.

John the Irishman soon ran away; with the rest I began to live very agreeably, for they all respected me the more, as they found Keimer incapable of instructing them, and that from me they learned something daily. We never worked on Saturday, that being Keimer's Sabbath, so I had two days for reading. My acquaintance with ingenious people in the town increased. Keimer himself treated me with great civility and apparent regard, and nothing now made me uneasy but my debt to Vernon, which I was yet unable to pay, being hitherto but a

poor economist. He, however, kindly made no demand of it.

Our printing-house often wanted sorts, and there was no letter-founder in America. I had seen types cast at James's in London, but without much attention to the manner; however, I now contrived a mould, made use of the letters we had as puncheons, struck the matrices in lead, and thus supplied in a pretty tolerable way all deficiencies. I also engraved several things on occasion; I made the ink; I was warehouseman, and everything, and, in short, quite a factotum.

But, however serviceable I might be, I found that my services became every day of less importance, as the other hands improved in the business; and when Keimer paid my second quarter's wages, he let me know that he felt them too heavy, and thought I should make an abatement. He grew by degrees less civil, put on more of the master, frequently found fault, was captious, and seemed ready for an outbreaking. I went on, nevertheless, with a good deal of patience, thinking that his incumbered circumstances were partly the cause. At length a trifle snapped our connections; for, a great noise happening near the court-house, I put my head out of the window to see what was the matter. Keimer, being in the street, looked up and saw me, called out to me in a loud voice and angry tone to mind my business, adding some reproachful words, that nettled me the more for their publicity, all the neighbors who were looking out on the same occasion being witnesses how I was treated. He came up immediately into the printing-house, continued the quarrel, high words passed on both sides, he gave me the quarter's warning we had stipulated, expressing a wish that he had not been obliged to so

long a warning. I told him his wish was unnecessary, for I would leave him that instant; and so, taking my hat, walked out of doors, desiring Meredith, whom I saw below, to take care of some things I left, and bring them to my lodgings.

Meredith came accordingly in the evening, when we talked my affair over. He had conceived a great regard for me, and was very unwilling that I should leave the house while he remained in it. He dissuaded me from returning to my native country, which I began to think of; he reminded me that Keimer was in debt for all he possessed; that his creditors began to be uneasy; that he kept his shop miserably, sold often without profit for ready money, and often trusted without keeping accounts; that he must therefore fail, which would make a vacancy I might profit of. I objected my want of money. He then let me know that his father had a high opinion of me, and from some discourse that had passed between them, he was sure would advance money to set us up, if I would enter into partnership with him. "My time," says he, "will be out with Keimer in the spring; by that time we may have our press and types in from London. I am sensible I am no workman; if you like it, your skill in the business shall be set against the stock I furnish, and we will share the profits equally."

The proposal was agreeable, and I consented. His father was in town and approved of it, the more as he saw I had great influence with his son, had prevailed on him to abstain long from dram-drinking, and he hoped might break him of that wretched habit entirely, when we came to be so closely connected. I gave an inventory to the father, who carried it to a merchant; the things were sent

for, the secret was to be kept till they should arrive, and in the mean time I was to get work, if I could, at the other printing-house. But I found no vacancy there, and so remained idle a few days, when Keimer, on a prospect of being employed to print some paper money in New Jersey, which would require cuts and various types that I only could supply, and apprehending Bradford might engage me and get the job from him, sent me a very civil message, that old friends should not part for a few words, the effect of sudden passion, and wishing me to return. Meredith persuaded me to comply, as it would give more opportunity for his improvement under my daily instructions; so I returned, and we went on more smoothly than for some time before. The New Jersey job was obtained, I contrived a copper-plate press for it, the first that had been seen in the country; I cut several ornaments and checks for the bills. We went together to Burlington, where I executed the whole to satisfaction; and he received so large a sum for the work as to be enabled thereby to keep his head much longer above water.

At Burlington I made an acquaintance with many principal people of the province. Several of them had been appointed by the Assembly a committee to attend the press, and take care that no more bills were printed than the law directed. They were, therefore, by turns, constantly with us, and generally he who attended brought with him a friend or two for company. My mind having been much more improved by reading than Keimer's, I suppose it was for that reason my conversation seemed to be more valued. They had me to their houses, introduced me to their friends, and showed me much civility; while he, though the master, was a little neglected. In truth, he

was an odd fish; ignorant of common life, fond of rudely opposing received opinions, slovenly to extreme dirtiness, enthusiastic in some points of religion, and a little knavish withal.

We continued there near three months, and by that time I could reckon among my acquired friends, Judge Allen, Samuel Bustill, the secretary of the province, Isaac Pearson, Joseph Cooper, and several of the Smiths, members of Assembly, and Isaac Decow, the surveyor-general. The latter was a shrewd, sagacious old man, who told me that he began for himself, when young, by wheeling clay for the brickmakers, learned to write after he was of age, carried the chain for surveyors, who taught him surveying, and he had now by his industry acquired a good estate; and says he, "I forsee that you will soon work this man out of his business, and make a fortune in it at Philadelphia." He had not then the least intimation of my intention to set up there or anywhere. These friends were afterwards of great use to me, as I occasionally was to some of them. They all continued their regard for me as long as they lived.

Before I enter upon my public appearance in business, it may be well to let you know the then state of my mind with regard to my principles and morals, that you may see how far those influenced the future events of my life. My parents had early given me religious impressions, and brought me through my childhood piously in the dissenting way. But I was scarce fifteen when, after doubting by turns of several points, as I found them disputed in the different books I read, I began to doubt of revelation itself. Some books against deism fell into my hands; they were said to be the substance of sermons preached at Boyle's Lectures. It happened that they wrought an effect on

me quite contrary to what was intended by them; for the arguments of the deists, which were quoted to be refuted, appeared to me much stronger than the refutations; in short, I soon became a thorough deist. My arguments perverted some others, particularly Collins and Ralph; but each of them having afterwards wronged me greatly without the least compunction, and recollecting Keith's conduct towards me (who was another freethinker), and my own towards Vernon and Miss Read, which at times gave me great trouble, I began to suspect that this doctrine, though it might be true, was not very useful. My London pamphlet, which had for its motto these lines of Dryden: —

> Whatever is, is right. Though purblind man
> Sees but a part o' the chain, the nearest link:
> His eyes not carrying to the equal beam,
> That poises all above;

and from the attributes of God, his infinite wisdom, goodness, and power, concluded that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world, and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing, appeared now not so clever a performance as I once thought it; and I doubted whether some error had not insinuated itself unperceived into my argument, so as to infect all that followed, as is common in metaphysical reasonings.

I grew convinced that truth, sincerity, and integrity in dealings between man and man were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life; and I formed written resolutions, which still remain in my journal book, to practise them ever while I lived. Revelation had indeed no weight with me, as such; but I entertained an opinion that, though certain actions might not be bad because they were forbidden by it, or good because it commanded them,

yet probably those actions might be forbidden because they were bad for us, or commanded because they were beneficial to us, in their own natures, all the circumstances of things considered. And this persuasion, with the kind hand of Providence, or some guardian angel, or accidental favorable circumstances and situations, or all together, preserved me through this dangerous time of youth, and the hazardous situations I was sometimes in among strangers, remote from the eye and advice of my father, without any wilful gross immorality or injustice, that might have been expected from my want of religion. I say wilful, because the instances I have mentioned had something of necessity in them, from my youth, inexperience, and the knavery of others. I had, therefore, a tolerable character to begin the world with; I valued it properly, and determined to preserve it.

We had not been long returned to Philadelphia before the new types arrived from London. We settled with Keimer, and left him by his consent before he heard of it. We found a house to hire near the market, and took it. To lessen the rent, which was then but twenty-four pounds a year, though I have since known it to let for seventy, we took in Thomas Godfrey, a glazier, and his family, who were to pay a considerable part of it to us, and we to board with them. We had scarce opened our letters and put our press in order, before George House, an acquaintance of mine, brought a countryman to us, whom he had met in the street inquiring for a printer. All our cash was now expended in the variety of particulars we had been obliged to procure, and this countryman's five shillings, being our first-fruits, and coming so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any crown I have since earned; and the

gratitude I felt toward House has made me often more ready than perhaps I should otherwise have been to assist young beginners.

There are croakers in every country, always boding its ruin. Such a one then lived in Philadelphia; a person of note, an elderly man, with a wise look and a very grave manner of speaking. His name was Samuel Mickle. This gentleman, a stranger to me, stopped one day at my door, and asked me if I was the young man who had lately opened a new printing-house. Being answered in the affirmative, he said he was sorry for me, because it was an expensive undertaking, and the expense would be lost; for Philadelphia was a sinking place, the people already half bankrupts, or near being so; all appearances to the contrary, such as new buildings and the rise of rents, being to his certain knowledge fallacious; for they were, in fact, among the things that would soon ruin us. And he gave me such a detail of misfortunes now existing, or that were soon to exist, that he left me half melancholy. Had I known him before I engaged in this business, probably I never should have done it. This man continued to live in this decaying place, and to declaim in the same strain, refusing for many years to buy a house there, because all was going to destruction; and at last I had the pleasure of seeing him give five times as much for one as he might have bought it for when he first began his croaking.

CHAPTER VIII

FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES

I SHOULD have mentioned before that, in the autumn of the preceding year, I had formed most of my ingenious acquaintance into a club of mutual improvement, which we called the JUNTO; we met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required that every member, in his turn, should produce one or more queries on any point of Morals, Politics, or Natural Philosophy, to be discussed by the company; and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire of victory; and to prevent warmth, all expressions of positiveness in opinions, or direct contradiction, were after some time made contraband, and prohibited under small pecuniary penalties.

The first members were Joseph Breintnal, a copier of deeds for the scriveners, a good-natured, friendly, middle-aged man, a great lover of poetry, reading all he could meet with, and writing some that was tolerable; very ingenious in many little nicknackeries, and of sensible conversation.

Thomas Godfrey, a self-taught mathematician, great in his way, and afterward inventor of what is now called Hadley's Quadrant. But he knew little out of his way, and was not a pleasing companion; as, like most great mathematicians I have met with, he expected universal

precision in everything said, or was forever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the disturbance of all conversation. He soon left us.

Nicholas Scull, a surveyor, afterward surveyor-general, who loved books, and sometimes made a few verses.

William Parsons, bred a shoemaker, but, loving reading, had acquired a considerable share of mathematics, which he first studied with a view to astrology, and afterwards laughed at it. He also became surveyor-general.

William Maugridge, a joiner, a most exquisite mechanic, and a solid, sensible man.

Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts, and George Webb I have characterized before.

Robert Grace, a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively, and witty; a lover of punning and of his friends.

And William Coleman, then a merchant's clerk, about my age, who had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals of almost any man I ever met with. He became afterwards a merchant of great note, and one of our provincial judges. Our friendship continued without interruption to his death, upward of forty years; and the club continued almost as long, and was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics that then existed in the province; for our queries, which were read the week preceding their discussion, put us upon reading with attention upon the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose; and here, too, we acquired better habits of conversation, everything being studied in our rules which might prevent our disgusting each other. From hence the long continuance of the club, which I shall have frequent occasion to speak further of hereafter.

But my giving this account of it here is to show something of the interest I had, every one of these exerting themselves in recommending business to us. Breintnal particularly procured us from the Quakers the printing of forty sheets of their history, the rest being done by Keimer; and upon this we worked exceedingly hard, for the price was low. It was a folio, in pica, with long primer notes. I composed of it a sheet a day, and Meredith worked it off at press; it was often eleven at night, and sometimes later, before I had finished my distribution for the next day's work, for the little jobs sent in by our other friends now and then put us back. But so determined I was to continue doing a sheet a day of the folio, that one night, when, having imposed my forms, I thought my day's work over, one of them by accident was broken, and two pages reduced to pi, I immediately distributed and composed it over again before I went to bed; and this industry, visible to our neighbors, began to give us character and credit; particularly, I was told, that mention being made of the new printing-office at the merchants' Every-night club, the general opinion was that it must fail, there being already two printers in the place, Keimer and Bradford; but Dr. Baird (whom you and I saw many years after at his native place, St. Andrew's in Scotland) gave a contrary opinion: "For the industry of that Franklin," says he, "is superior to anything I ever saw of the kind; I see him still at work when I go home from club, and he is at work again before his neighbors are out of bed." This struck the rest, and we soon after had offers from one of them to supply us with stationery; but as yet we did not choose to engage in shop business.

I mention this industry the more particularly and the

more freely, though it seems to be talking in my own praise, that those of my posterity who shall read it may know the use of that virtue, when they see its effects in my favor throughout this relation.

George Webb, who had found a female friend that lent him wherewith to purchase his time of Keimer, now came to offer himself as a journeyman to us. We could not then employ him; but I foolishly let him know as a secret that I soon intended to begin a newspaper, and might then have work for him. My hopes of success, as I told him, were founded on this, that the then only newspaper, printed by Bradford, was a paltry thing, wretchedly managed, no way entertaining, and yet was profitable to him; I therefore thought a good paper would scarcely fail of good encouragement. I requested Webb not to mention it; but he told it to Keimer, who immediately, to be beforehand with me, published proposals for printing one himself, on which Webb was to be employed. I resented this; and to counteract them, as I could not yet begin our paper, I wrote several pieces of entertainment for Bradford's paper, under the title of the Busy Body, which Breintnal continued some months. By this means the attention of the public was fixed on that paper, and Keimer's proposals, which we burlesqued and ridiculed, were disregarded. He began his paper, however, and, after carrying it on three quarters of a year, with at most only ninety subscribers, he offered it to me for a trifle; and I, having been ready some time to go on with it, took it in hand directly; and it proved in a few years extremely profitable to me.

I perceive that I am apt to speak in the singular number, though our partnership still continued. The reason may be that, in fact, the whole management of the business lay

Numb. XL.

THE Pennſylvania *GAZETTE.*

Containing the freſheſt Advices Foreign and Domeſtick.

From Thurſday, September 25. to Thurſday, October 2. 1729.

THE Pennſylvania Gazette *being now to be carry'd on by other Hands, the Reader may expect ſome Account of the Method we deſign to proceed in.*

Upon a View of Chambers's *great Dictionaries, from whence were taken the Materials of the* Univerſal Inſtructor in all Arts and Sciences, *which uſually made the Firſt Part of this Paper, we find that beſides their containing many Things abſtruſe or inſignificant to us, it will probably be fifty Years before the Whole can be gone thro' in this Manner of Publication. There are likewiſe in thoſe Books continual References from Things under one Letter of the Alphabet to thoſe under another, which relate to the ſame Subject, and are neceſſary to explain and compleat it; theſe taken in their Turn may perhaps be Ten Years diſtant; and ſince it is likely that they who deſire to acquaint themſelves with any particular Art or Science, would gladly have the whole before them in a much leſs Time, we believe our Readers will not think ſuch a Method of communicating Knowledge to be a proper One.*

However, tho' we do not intend to continue the Publication of thoſe Dictionaries in a regular Alphabetical Method, as has hitherto been done; yet as ſeveral Things exhibited from them in the Courſe of theſe Papers, have been entertaining to ſuch of the Curious, who never had and cannot have the Advantage of good Libraries; and as there are many Things ſtill behind, which being in this Manner made generally known, may perhaps become of conſiderable Uſe, by giving ſuch Hints to the excellent natural Genius's of our Country, as may contribute either to the Improvement of our preſent Manufactures, or towards the Invention of new Ones; we propoſe from Time to Time to communicate ſuch particular Parts as appear to be of the moſt general Conſequence.

As to the Religious Courtſhip, *Part of which has been retail'd to the Publick in theſe Papers,, the Reader may be inform'd, that the whole Book will probably in a little Time be printed and bound up by it ſelf; and thoſe who approve of it, will doubtleſs be better pleas'd to have it entire, than in this broken interrupted Manner.*

There are many who have long deſired to ſee a good News-Paper in Pennſylvania, *and we hope thoſe Gentlemen who are able, will contribute towards the making This ſuch. We ask Aſſiſtance, becauſe we are fully ſenſible, that to publiſh a good News-Paper is not ſo eaſy an Undertaking as many People imagine it to be. The Author of a* Gazette *(in the Opinion of the Learned) ought to be qualified with an extenſive Acquaintance with Languages, a great Eaſineſs and Command of Writing and Relating Things cleanly and intelligibly, and in few Words; he ſhould be able to ſpeak of War both by Land and Sea; be well acquainted with Geography, with the Hiſtory of the Time, with the ſeveral Intereſts of Princes, and States, the Secrets of Courts, and the Manners and Cuſtoms of all Nations. Men thus accompliſh'd are very rare in this remote Part of the World; and it would be well if the Writer of theſe Papers could make up among his Friends what is wanting in himſelf.*

Upon the Whole, we may aſſure the Publick, that as far as the Encouragement we meet with will enable us, no Care and Pains ſhall be omitted, that may make the Pennſylvania Gazette *as agreeable and uſeful an Entertainment as the Nature of the Thing will allow.*

The Following is the laſt Meſſage ſent by his Excellency Governour *Burnet*, to the Houſe of Repreſentatives in *Boſton.*

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

IT is not with ſo vain a Hope as to convince you, that I take the Trouble to anſwer your Meſſages, but, if poſſible, to open the Eyes of the deluded People whom you repreſent, and whom you are at ſo much Pains to keep in Ignorance of the true State of their Affairs. I need not go further for an undeniable Proof of this Endeavour to blind them, than your ordering the Letter of Meſſieurs *Wilks* and *Belcher* of the 7th of *June* laſt to your Speaker to be publiſhed. This Letter is ſaid (in *Page* 1. of your Votes) *to incloſe a Copy of the Report of the Lords of the Committee of His Majeſty's Privy Council, with his Majeſty's Approbation and Order thereon in Council*, Yet theſe Gentlemen had at the ſame time the unparalleld Preſumption to write to the Speaker in this Manner; *You'll obſerve by the Conſtruction, which is propoſed to be the Conſequence of your not complying with His Majeſty's Inſtruction (the whole Matter to by fal-*

FRONT PAGE OF THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE *PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE*

(From *The True Benjamin Franklin* by Sydney G. Fisher, J. B. Lippincott Co.)

upon me. Meredith was no compositor, a poor pressman, and seldom sober. My friends lamented my connection with him, but I was to make the best of it.

Our first papers made a quite different appearance from any before in the province; a better type, and better printed; but some spirited remarks of my writing, on the dispute then going on between Governor Burnet and the Massachusetts Assembly, struck the principal people, occasioned the paper and the manager of it to be much talked of, and in a few weeks brought them all to be our subscribers.

Their example was followed by many, and our number went on growing continually. This was one of the first good effects of my having learned a little to scribble; another was, that the leading men, seeing a newspaper now in the hands of one who could also handle a pen, thought it convenient to oblige and encourage me. Bradford still printed the votes, and laws, and other public business. He had printed an address of the House to the governor in a coarse, blundering manner; we reprinted it elegantly and correctly, and sent one to every member. They were sensible of the difference: it strengthened the hands of our friends in the House, and they voted us their printers for the year ensuing.

Among my friends in the House I must not forget Mr. Hamilton, before mentioned, who was then returned from England, and had a seat in it. He interested himself for me strongly in that instance, as he did in many others afterward, continuing his patronage till his death.

Mr. Vernon, about this time, put me in mind of the debt I owed him, but did not press me. I wrote him an ingenuous letter of acknowledgment, craved his forbear-

ance a little longer, which he allowed me, and as soon as I was able, I paid the principal with interest, and many thanks; so that erratum was in some degree corrected.

But now another difficulty came upon me which I had never the least reason to expect. Mr. Meredith's father, who was to have paid for our printing-house, according to the expectations given me, was able to advance only one hundred pounds currency, which had been paid, and a hundred more was due to the merchant, who grew impatient, and sued us all. We gave bail, but saw that, if the money could not be raised in time, the suit must soon come to a judgment and execution, and our hopeful prospects must, with us, be ruined, as the press and letters must be sold for payment, perhaps at half price.

In this distress two true friends, whose kindness I have never forgotten, nor ever shall forget while I can remember anything, came to me separately, unknown to each other, and, without any application from me, offering each of them to advance me all the money that should be necessary to enable me to take the whole business upon myself, if that should be practicable; but they did not like my continuing the partnership with Meredith, who, as they said, was often seen drunk in the streets, and playing at low games in ale-houses, much to our discredit. These two friends were William Coleman and Robert Grace. I told them I could not propose a separation while any prospect remained of the Merediths' fulfilling their part of our agreement, because I thought myself under great obligations to them for what they had done, and would do if they could; but, if they finally failed in their performance, and our partnership must be dissolved, I should then think myself at liberty to accept the assistance of my friends.

Thus the matter rested for some time, when I said to my partner, "Perhaps your father is dissatisfied at the part you have undertaken in this affair of ours, and is unwilling to advance for you and me what he would for you alone. If that is the case, tell me, and I will resign the whole to you, and go about my business." "No," said he, "my father has really been disappointed, and is really unable; and I am unwilling to distress him further. I see this is a business I am not fit for. I was bred a farmer, and it was a folly in me to come to town, and put myself, at thirty years of age, an apprentice to learn a new trade. Many of our Welsh people are going to settle in North Carolina, where land is cheap. I am inclined to go with them, and follow my old employment. You may find friends to assist you. If you will take the debts of the company upon you, return to my father the hundred pounds he has advanced, pay my little personal debts, and give me thirty pounds and a new saddle, I will relinquish the partnership, and leave the whole in your hands." I agreed to this proposal; it was drawn up in writing, signed, and sealed immediately. I gave him what he demanded, and he went soon after to Carolina, from whence he sent me next year two long letters, containing the best account that had been given of that country, the climate, the soil, husbandry, etc., for in those matters he was very judicious. I printed them in the papers, and they gave great satisfaction to the public.

As soon as he was gone, I recurred to my two friends; and because I would not give an unkind preference to either, I took half of what each had offered, and I wanted, of one, and half of the other; paid off the company's debts, and went on with the business in my own name, adver-

tising that the partnership was dissolved. I think this was in or about the year 1729.

About this time there was a cry among the people for more paper money, only fifteen thousand pounds being extant in the province, and that soon to be sunk. The wealthy inhabitants opposed any addition, being against all paper currency, from an apprehension that it would depreciate, as it had done in New England, to the prejudice of all creditors. We had discussed this point in our Junto, where I was on the side of an addition, being persuaded that the first small sum struck in 1723 had done much good by increasing the trade, employment, and number of inhabitants in the province, since I now saw all the old houses inhabited, and many new ones building; whereas I remembered well that when I first walked about the streets of Philadelphia, eating my roll, I saw most of the houses in Walnut Street, between Second and Front streets, with bills on their doors "To be let"; and many likewise in Chestnut Street and other streets, which made me then think the inhabitants of the city were deserting it one after another.

Our debates possessed me so fully of the subject that I wrote and printed an anonymous pamphlet on it, entitled *The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*. It was well received by the common people in general; but the rich men disliked it, for it increased and strengthened the clamor for more money, and they happening to have no writers among them that were able to answer it, their opposition slackened, and the point was carried by a majority in the House. My friends there, who conceived I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me by employing me in printing the money; a very profitable job and a

great help to me. This was another advantage gained by my being able to write.

The utility of this currency became by time and experience so evident as never afterwards to be much disputed; so that it grew soon to fifty-five thousand pounds, and in 1739 to eighty thousand pounds, since which it arose during war to upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, trade, building, and inhabitants all the while increasing, though I now think there are limits beyond which the quantity may be hurtful.

I soon after obtained, through my friend Hamilton, the printing of the Newcastle paper money, another profitable job as I then thought it; small things appearing great to those in small circumstances; and these, to me, were really great advantages, as they were great encouragements. He procured for me, also, the printing of the laws and votes of that government, which continued in my hands as long as I followed the business.

CHAPTER IX

PROSPERITY AND MARRIAGE

I NOW opened a little stationer's shop. I had in it blanks of all sorts, the correctest that ever appeared among us, being assisted in that by my friend Breintnal. I had also paper, parchment, chapmen's books, etc. One Whitemash, a compositor I had known in London, an excellent workman, now came to me, and worked with me constantly and diligently; and I took an apprentice, the son of Aquila Rose.

I began now gradually to pay off the debt I was under for the printing-house. In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in reality industrious and frugal, but to avoid all appearances to the contrary. I dressed plainly; I was seen at no places of idle diversion. I never went out a fishing or shooting; a book, indeed, sometimes debauched me from my work, but that was seldom, snug, and gave no scandal; and, to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchased at the stores through the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being esteemed an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationery solicited my custom; others proposed supplying me with books, and I went on swimmingly. In the mean time, Keimer's credit and business declining daily, he was at last forced to sell his printing-house to satisfy his creditors. He went

to Barbadoes, and there lived some years in very poor circumstances.

His apprentice, David Harry, whom I had instructed while I worked with him, set up in his place at Philadelphia, having bought his materials. I was at first apprehensive of a powerful rival in Harry, as his friends were very able, and had a good deal of interest. I therefore proposed a

Harper & Brothers

"I sometimes brought home the paper through the streets on a wheelbarrow."

partnership to him, which he, fortunately for me, rejected with scorn. He was very proud, dressed like a gentleman, lived expensively, took much diversion and pleasure abroad, ran in debt, and neglected his business; upon which, all business left him; and finding nothing to do, he followed Keimer to Barbadoes, taking the printing-house with him. There this apprentice employed his former master as a journeyman; they quarreled often; Harry

went continually behindhand, and at length was forced to sell his types and return to his country work in Pennsylvania. The person that bought them employed Keimer to use them, but in a few years he died.

There remained now no competitor with me at Philadelphia but the old one, Bradford, who was rich and easy, did a little printing now and then by straggling hands, but was not very anxious about the business. However, as he kept the post-office, it was imagined he had better opportunities of obtaining news; his paper was thought a better distributer of advertisements than mine, and therefore had many more, which was a profitable thing to him, and a disadvantage to me; for, though I did indeed receive and send papers by the post, yet the public opinion was otherwise, for what I did send was by bribing the riders, who took them privately, Bradford being unkind enough to forbid it, which occasioned some resentment on my part; and I thought so meanly of him for it that, when I afterward came into his situation, I took care never to imitate it.

I had hitherto continued to board with Godfrey, who lived in part of my house with his wife and children, and had one side of the shop for his glazier's business, though he worked little, being always absorbed in his mathematics. Mrs. Godfrey projected a match for me with a relation's daughter, took opportunities of bringing us often together, till a serious courtship on my part ensued, the girl being in herself very deserving. The old folks encouraged me by continual invitations to supper, and by leaving us together, till at length it was time to explain. Mrs. Godfrey managed our little treaty. I let her know that I expected as much money with their daughter as would pay off my remaining debt for the printing-house, which I believe was

not then above a hundred pounds. She brought me word they had no such sum to spare; I said they might mortgage their house in the loan-office. The answer to this, after some days, was, that they did not approve the match; that, on inquiry of Bradford, they had been informed the printing business was not a profitable one; the types would soon be worn out, and more wanted; that S. Keimer and D. Harry had failed one after the other, and I should probably soon follow them; and, therefore, I was forbidden the house, and the daughter shut up.

Whether this was a real change of sentiment or only artifice, on a supposition of our being too far engaged in affection to retract, and therefore that we should steal a marriage, which would leave them at liberty to give or withhold what they pleased, I know not; but I suspected the latter, resented it, and went no more. Mrs. Godfrey brought me afterward some more favorable accounts of their disposition, and would have drawn me on again; but I declared absolutely my resolution to have nothing more to do with that family. This was resented by the Godfreys; we differed, and they removed, leaving me the whole house, and I resolved to take no more inmates.

But this affair having turned my thoughts to marriage, I looked round me and made overtures of acquaintance in other places; but soon found that the business of a printer being generally thought a poor one, I was not to expect money with a wife, unless with such a one as I should not otherwise think agreeable. A friendly correspondence as neighbors and old acquaintances had continued between me and Mrs. Read's family, who all had a regard for me from the time of my first lodging in their house. I was often invited there and consulted in their affairs, wherein

I sometimes was of service. I pitied poor Miss Read's unfortunate situation, who was generally dejected, seldom cheerful, and avoided company. I considered my giddiness and inconstancy when in London as in a great degree the cause of her unhappiness, though the mother was good enough to think the fault more her own than mine, as she had prevented our marrying before I went thither, and persuaded the other match in my absence. Our mutual affection was revived, but there were now great objections to our union. The match was indeed looked upon as invalid, a preceding wife being said to be living in England; but this could not easily be proved, because of the distance; and though there was a report of his death, it was not certain. Then, though it should be true, he had left many debts, which his successor might be called upon to pay. We ventured, however, over all these difficulties, and I took her to wife, September 1, 1730. None of the inconveniences happened that we had apprehended; she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending the shop; we throve together, and have ever mutually endeavored to make each other happy. Thus I corrected that great erratum as well as I could.

About this time, our club meeting, not at a tavern, but in a little room of Mr. Grace's, set apart for that purpose, a proposition was made by me that, since our books were often referred to in our disquisitions upon the queries, it might be convenient to us to have them all together where we met, that upon occasion they might be consulted; and by thus clubbing our books to a common library, we should, while we liked to keep them together, have each of us the advantage of using the books of all the other members, which would be nearly as beneficial as if each owned the

MRS. FRANKLIN

(From *The True Benjamin Franklin* by Sydney G. Fisher, J. B. Lippincott Co.)

whole. It was liked and agreed to, and we filled one end of the room with such books as we could best spare. The number was not so great as we expected; and though they had been of great use, yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection, after about a year, was separated, and each took his books home again.

And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and by the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. We afterwards obtained a charter, the company being increased to one hundred; this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It is become a great thing itself, and continually increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges.

Memorandum. Thus far was written with the intention expressed in the beginning and therefore contains several little family anecdotes of no importance to others. What follows was written many years after in compliance with the advice contained in these letters,* and accordingly intended for the public. The affairs of the Revolution occasioned the interruption. — *Franklin.*

Continuation of the account of my life, begun at Passy, near Paris, 1784. — *Franklin.*

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*See the note on page 94, line 1.

On this little fund we began. The books were imported; the library was opened one day in the week for lending to the subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned. The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated by other towns, and in other provinces. The libraries were augmented by donations; reading became fashionable; and our people, having no public amusements to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books, and in a few years were observed by strangers to be better instructed and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries.

When we were about to sign the above-mentioned articles, which were to be binding on us, our heirs, etc., for fifty years, Mr. Brockden, the scrivener, said to us, "You are young men, but it is scarcely probable that any of you will live to see the expiration of the term fixed in the instrument." A number of us, however, are yet living; but the instrument was after a few years rendered null by a charter that incorporated and gave perpetuity to the company.

The objections and reluctances I met with in soliciting the subscriptions made me soon feel the impropriety of presenting one's self as the proposer of any useful project, that might be supposed to raise one's reputation in the smallest degree above that of one's neighbors, when one has need of their assistance to accomplish that project. I therefore put myself as much as I could out of sight, and stated it as a scheme of a number of friends, who had requested me to go about and propose it to such as they thought lovers of reading. In this way my affair went on more smoothly, and I ever after practised it on such occasions; and from my frequent successes can heartily recom-

Detroit Publishing Co.

FRANKLIN THE LIBRARIAN

mend it. The present little sacrifice of your vanity will afterwards be amply repaid. If it remains a while uncertain to whom the merit belongs, some one more vain than yourself will be encouraged to claim it, and then even envy will be disposed to do you justice by plucking those assumed feathers, and restoring them to their right owner.

This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each day, and thus repaired in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, games, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary. I was indebted for my printing-house; I had a young family coming on to be educated, and I had to contend for business with two printers, who were established in the place before me. My circumstances, however, grew daily easier. My original habits of frugality continuing, and my father having, among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon, "Seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men," I from thence considered industry as a means of obtaining wealth and distinction, which encouraged me, though I did not think that I should ever literally stand before kings, which, however, has since happened; for I have stood before five, and even had the honor of sitting down with one, the King of Denmark, to dinner.

We have an English proverb that says, "He that would thrive, must ask his wife." It was lucky for me that I had one as much disposed to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and

stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper makers, etc., etc. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was a long time bread and milk (no tea), and I ate it out of a twopenny earthen porringer, with a pewter spoon. But mark how luxury will enter families, and make a progress, in spite of principle: being called one morning to breakfast, I found it in a china bowl, with a spoon of silver! They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three-and-twenty shillings, for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserved a silver spoon and china bowl as well as any of his neighbors. This was the first appearance of plate and china in our house, which afterward, in a course of years, as our wealth increased, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value.

I had been religiously educated as a Presbyterian; and though some of the dogmas of that persuasion, such as the eternal decrees of God, election, reprobation, etc., appeared to me unintelligible, others doubtful, and I early absented myself from the public assemblies of the sect, Sunday being my studying day, I never was without some religious principles. I never doubted, for instance, the existence of the Deity; that He made the world, and governed it by His providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man; that our souls are immortal; and that all crime will be punished, and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter. These I esteemed the essentials of every religion; and being to be found in all the religions we had in our country, I respected them all, though with

different degrees of respect, as I found them more or less mixed with other articles, which, without any tendency to inspire, promote, or confirm morality, served principally to divide us, and make us unfriendly to one another. This respect to all, with an opinion that the worst had some good effects, induced me to avoid all discourse that might tend to lessen the good opinion another might have of his own religion; and as our province increased in people, and new places of worship were continually wanted, and generally erected by voluntary contribution, my mite for such purpose, whatever might be the sect, was never refused.

Though I seldom attended any public worship, I had still an opinion of its propriety, and of its utility when rightly conducted, and I regularly paid my annual subscription for the support of the only Presbyterian minister or meeting we had in Philadelphia. He used to visit me sometimes as a friend, and admonish me to attend his administrations, and I was now and then prevailed on to do so, once for five Sundays successively. Had he been in my opinion a good preacher, perhaps I might have continued, notwithstanding the occasion I had for the Sunday's leisure in my course of study; but his discourses were chiefly either polemic arguments, or explications of the peculiar doctrines of our sect, and were all to me very dry, uninteresting, and unedifying, since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforced, their aim seeming to be rather to make us Presbyterians than good citizens.

At length he took for his text that verse of the fourth chapter of Philippians, "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, or of good report, if there be any virtue, or any praise, think on these things."

And I imagined, in a sermon on such a text, we could not miss of having some morality. But he confined himself to five points only, as meant by the apostle, viz.: 1. Keeping holy the Sabbath day. 2. Being diligent in reading the holy Scriptures. 3. Attending duly the public worship. 4. Partaking of the Sacrament. 5. Paying a due respect to God's ministers. These might be all good things; but as they were not the kind of good things that I expected from that text, I despaired of ever meeting with them from any other, was disgusted, and attended his preaching no more. I had some years before composed a little liturgy, or form of prayer, for my own private use (viz., in 1728), entitled, *Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion.* I returned to the use of this, and went no more to the public assemblies. My conduct might be blamable, but I leave it, without attempting further to excuse it, my present purpose being to relate facts, and not to make apologies for them.

CHAPTER X

FRANKLIN'S PLAN OF LIFE

It was about this time I conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at moral perfection. I wished to live without committing any fault at any time; I would conquer all that either natural inclination, custom, or company might lead me into. As I knew, or thought I knew, what was right and wrong, I did not see why I might not always do the one and avoid the other. But I soon found I had undertaken a task of more difficulty than I had imagined. While my care was employed in guarding against one fault, I was often surprised by another; habit took the advantage of inattention; inclination was sometimes too strong for reason. I concluded, at length, that the mere speculative conviction that it was our interest to be completely virtuous was not sufficient to prevent our slipping; and that the contrary habits must be broken, and good ones acquired and established, before we can have any dependence on a steady, uniform rectitude of conduct. For this purpose I therefore contrived the following method.

In the various enumerations of the moral virtues I had met with in my reading, I found the catalogue more or less numerous, as different writers included more or fewer ideas under the same name. Temperance, for example, was by some confined to eating and drinking, while by others it was extended to mean the moderating every

other pleasure, appetite, inclination, or passion, bodily or mental, even to our avarice and ambition. I proposed to myself, for the sake of clearness, to use rather more names, with fewer ideas annexed to each, than a few names with more ideas; and I included under thirteen names of virtues all that at that time occurred to me as necessary or desirable, and annexed to each a short precept, which fully expressed the extent I gave to its meaning.

These names of virtues, with their precepts were: —

1. Temperance

Eat not to dulness; drink not to elevation.

2. Silence

Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself; avoid trifling conversation.

3. Order

Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time.

4. Resolution

Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve.

5. Frugality

Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself; *i. e.*, waste nothing.

6. Industry

Lose no time; be always employed in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions.

7. Sincerity

Use no hurtful deceit; think innocently and justly; and, if you speak, speak accordingly.

8. Justice

Wrong none by doing injuries, or omitting the benefits that are your duty.

9. Moderation

Avoid extremes; forbear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve.

10. Cleanliness

Tolerate no uncleanliness in body, clothes, or habitation.

11. Tranquillity

Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable.

12. Chastity

13. Humility

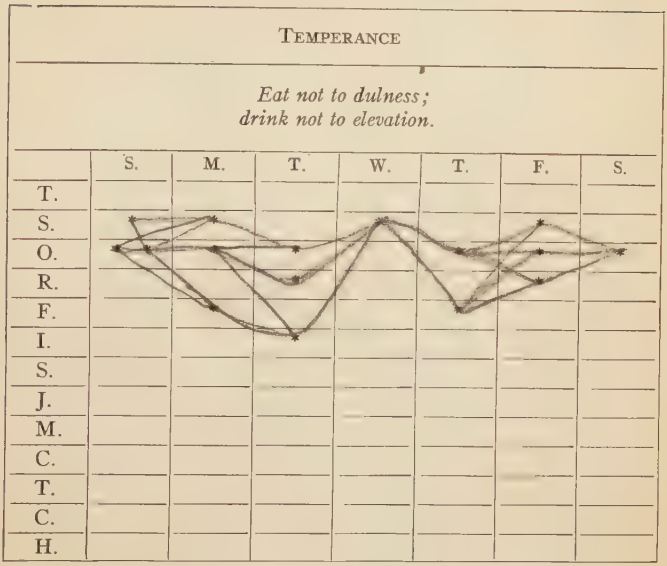
Imitate Jesus and Socrates.

My intention being to acquire the habitude of all these virtues, I judged it would be well not to distract my attention by attempting the whole at once, but to fix it on one of them at a time; and, when I should be master of that, then to proceed to another, and so on, till I should have gone through the thirteen; and as the previous acquisition of some might facilitate the acquisition of certain others, I arranged them with that view, as they

stand above. Temperance first, as it tends to procure that coolness and clearness of head, which is so necessary where constant vigilance was to be kept up, and guard maintained against the unremitting attraction of ancient habits, and the force of perpetual temptations. This being acquired and established, silence would be more easy; and my desire being to gain knowledge at the same time that I improved in virtue, and considering that in conversation it was obtained rather by the use of the ears than of the tongue, and therefore wishing to break a habit I was getting into of prattling, punning, and joking, which only made me acceptable to trifling company, I gave silence the second place. This and the next, order, I expected would allow me more time for attending to my project and my studies. Resolution, once become habitual, would keep me firm in my endeavors to obtain all the subsequent virtues; frugality and industry freeing me from my remaining debt, and producing affluence and independence, would make more easy the practice of sincerity and justice, etc., etc. Conceiving then, that, agreeably to the advice of Pythagoras in his *Golden Verses*, daily examination would be necessary, I contrived the following method for conducting that examination.

I made a little book, in which I allotted a page for each of the virtues. I ruled each page with red ink, so as to have seven columns, one for each day of the week, marking each column with a letter for the day. I crossed these columns with thirteen red lines, marking the beginning of of each line with the first letter of one of the virtues, on which line, and in its proper column, I might mark, by a little black spot, every fault I found upon examination to have been committed respecting that virtue upon that day.

FORM OF THE PAGES



I determined to give a week's strict attention to each of the virtues successively. Thus, in the first week, my great guard was to avoid every the least offense against temperance, leaving the other virtues to their ordinary chance, only marking every evening the faults of the day. Thus, if in the first week I could keep my first line, marked T, clear of spots, I supposed the habit of that virtue so much strengthened, and its opposite weakened, that I might venture extending my attention to include the next, and for the following week keep both lines clear of spots. Proceeding thus to the last, I could go through a course complete in thirteen weeks, and four courses in a year.

And like him who, having a garden to weed, does not attempt to eradicate all the bad herbs at once, which would exceed his reach and his strength, but works on one of the beds at a time, and, having accomplished the first, proceeds to a second, so I should have, I hoped, the encouraging pleasure of seeing on my pages the progress I made in virtue, by clearing successively my lines of their spots, till in the end, by a number of courses, I should be happy in viewing a clean book, after a thirteen weeks' daily examination.

This my little book had for its motto these lines from Addison's *Cato:* —

> Here will I hold. If there 's a power above us
> (And that there is, all nature cries aloud
> Through all her works), He must delight in virtue;
> And that which he delights in must be happy.

Another from Cicero: —

O vitæ Philosophia dux! O virtutum indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum! Unus dies, bene et ex præceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati est anteponendus. (O Philosophy, thou guide of life! O friend of virtues and foe to vices! One day well lived by thy precepts is to be preferred to an eternity spent in sin.)

Another from the Proverbs of Solomon, speaking of wisdom or virtue: —

> Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. — iii, 16, 17.

And conceiving God to be the fountain of wisdom, I thought it right and necessary to solicit his assistance for obtaining it; to this end I formed the following little prayer, which was prefixed to my tables of examination, for daily use.

O powerful Goodness! bountiful Father! merciful Guide! Increase in me that wisdom which discovers my truest interest. Strengthen my resolutions to perform what that wisdom dictates. Accept my kind offices to thy other children as the only return in my power for thy continual favors to me.

I used also sometimes a little prayer which I took from Thomson's poems, viz.: —

> Father of light and life, thou Good Supreme!
> O teach me what is good; teach me Thyself!
> Save me from folly, vanity, and vice,
> From every low pursuit; and fill my soul
> With knowledge, conscious peace, and virtue pure;
> Sacred, substantial, never-fading bliss!

The precept of order requiring that every part of my business should have its allotted time, one page in my little book contained the following scheme of employment for the twenty-four hours of a natural day.

THE MORNING. Question. What good shall I do this day?	5	Rise, wash, and address *Powerful Goodness!* Contrive day's business, and take the resolution of the day; prosecute the present study, and breakfast.
	6	
	7	
	8	Work
	9	
	10	
	11	
NOON	12	Read, or overlook my accounts, and dine.
	1	
	2	Work
	3	
	4	
	5	

Evening. Question. What good have I done to-day?	6	Put things in their places.
	7	Supper. Music or diversion,
	8	or conversation. Examination
	9	of the day.
Night	10	Sleep.
	11	
	12	
	1	
	2	
	3	
	4	

I entered upon the execution of this plan for self-examination, and continued it with occasional intermissions for some time. I was surprised to find myself so much fuller of faults than I had imagined; but I had the satisfaction of seeing them diminish. To avoid the trouble of renewing now and then my little book, which, by scraping out the marks on the paper of old faults to make room for new ones in a new course, became full of holes, I transferred my tables and precepts to the ivory leaves of a memorandum book, on which the lines were drawn with red ink, that made a durable stain, and on those lines I marked my faults with a black lead pencil, which marks I could easily wipe out with a wet sponge. After a while I went through one course only in a year, and afterward only one in several years, till at length I omitted them entirely, being employed in voyages and business abroad, with a multiplicity of affairs that interfered; but I always carried my little book with me.

My scheme of order gave me the most trouble; and I found that, though it might be practicable where a man's business was such as to leave him the disposition of his time, that of a journeyman printer, for instance, it was not

possible to be exactly observed by a master, who must mix with the world, and often receive people of business at their own hours. Order, too, with regard to places for things, papers, etc., I found extremely difficult to acquire. I had not been early accustomed to it, and, having an exceeding good memory, I was not so sensible of the inconvenience attending want of method. This article, therefore, cost me so much painful attention, and my faults in it vexed me so much, and I made so little progress in amendment, and had such frequent relapses, that I was almost ready to give up the attempt, and content myself with a faulty character in that respect, like the man who, in buying an axe of a smith, my neighbor, desired to have the whole of its surface as bright as the edge. The smith consented to grind it bright for him if he would turn the wheel; he turned, while the smith pressed the broad face of the axe hard and heavily on the stone, which made the turning of it very fatiguing. The man came every now and then from the wheel to see how the work went on, and at length would take his axe as it was, without farther grinding. "No," said the smith, "turn on, turn on; we shall have it bright by and by; as yet, it is only speckled." "Yes," says the man, "but I think I like a speckled axe best." And I believe this may have been the case with many, who, having, for want of some such means as I employed, found the difficulty of obtaining good and breaking bad habits in other points of vice and virtue, have given up the struggle, and concluded that "a speckled axe was best"; for something, that pretended to be reason, was every now and then suggesting to me that such extreme nicety as I exacted of myself might be a kind of foppery in morals, which, if it were known, would make me ridiculous; that a perfect

character might be attended with the inconvenience of being envied and hated; and that a benevolent man should allow a few faults in himself, to keep his friends in countenance.

In truth, I found myself incorrigible with respect to order; and now I am grown old, and my memory bad, I feel very sensibly the want of it. But, on the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was, by the endeavor, a better and a happier man than I otherwise should have been if I had not attempted it; as those who aim at perfect writing by imitating the engraved copies, though they never reach the wished-for excellence of those copies, their hand is mended by the endeavor, and is tolerable while it continues fair and legible.

It may be well my posterity should be informed that to this little artifice, with the blessing of God, their ancestor owed the constant felicity of his life, down to his seventy-ninth year, in which this is written. What reverses may attend the remainder is in the hand of Providence; but, if they arrive, the reflection on past happiness enjoyed ought to help his bearing them with more resignation. To temperance he ascribes his long-continued health, and what is still left to him of a good constitution; to industry and frugality, the early easiness of his circumstances and acquisition of his fortune, with all that knowledge that enabled him to be a useful citizen, and obtained for him some degree of reputation among the learned; to sincerity and justice, the confidence of his country and the honorable employs it conferred upon him; and to the joint influence of the whole mass of the virtues, even in the imperfect state he was able to acquire them, all that evenness of

temper, and that cheerfulness in conversation, which makes his company still sought for, and agreeable even to his younger acquaintance. I hope, therefore, that some of my descendants may follow the example and reap the benefit.

It will be remarked that, though my scheme was not wholly without religion, there was in it no mark of any of the distinguishing tenets of any particular sect. I had purposely avoided them; for, being fully persuaded of the utility and excellency of my method, and that it might be serviceable to people in all religions, and intending some time or other to publish it, I would not have anything in it that should prejudice any one, of any sect, against it. I purposed writing a little comment on each virtue, in which I would have shown the advantages of possessing it, and the mischiefs attending its opposite vice; and I should have called my book *The Art of Virtue*, because it would have shown the means and manner of obtaining virtue, which would have distinguished it from the mere exhortation to be good, that does not instruct and indicate the means, but is like the apostle's man of verbal charity, who without showing to the naked and hungry how or where they might get clothes or victuals exhorted them to be fed and clothed. — James, ii, 15, 16.

But it so happened that my intention of writing and publishing this comment was never fulfilled. I did, indeed, from time to time, put down short hints of the sentiments, reasonings, etc., to be made use of in it, some of which I have still by me; but the necessary close attention to private business in the earlier part of my life, and public business since, have occasioned my postponing it; for, it being connected in my mind with a great and extensive

project, that required the whole man to execute, and which an unforeseen succession of employs prevented my attending to, it has hitherto remained unfinished.

In this piece it was my design to explain and enforce this doctrine, that vicious actions are not hurtful because they are forbidden, but forbidden because they are hurtful, the nature of man alone considered; that it was, therefore, every one's interest to be virtuous who wished to be happy even in this world; and I should, from this circumstance (there being always in the world a number of rich merchants, nobility, states, and princes, who have need of honest instruments for the management of their affairs, and such being so rare), have endeavored to convince young persons that no qualities were so likely to make a poor man's fortune as those of probity and integrity.

My list of virtues contained at first but twelve; but a Quaker friend having kindly informed me that I was generally thought proud; that my pride showed itself frequently in conversation; that I was not content with being in the right when discussing any point, but was overbearing, and rather insolent, of which he convinced me by mentioning several instances; I determined endeavoring to cure myself, if I could, of this vice or folly among the rest, and I added humility to my list, giving an extensive meaning to the word.

I cannot boast of much success in acquiring the reality of this virtue, but I had a good deal with regard to the appearance of it. I made it a rule to forbear all direct contradiction to the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of my own. I even forbade myself, agreeably to the old laws of our Junto, the use of every word or expression in the language that imported a fixed opinion, such as

certainly, undoubtedly, etc., and I adopted, instead of them, I conceive, I apprehend, or I imagine a thing to be so or so; or it so appears to me at present. When another asserted something that I thought an error, I denied myself the pleasure of contradicting him abruptly, and of showing immediately some absurdity in his proposition; and in answering I began by observing that in certain cases or circumstances his opinion would be right, but in the present case there appeared or seemed to me some difference, etc. I soon found the advantage of this change in my manner; the conversations I engaged in went on more pleasantly. The modest way in which I proposed my opinions procured them a readier reception and less contradiction; I had less mortification when I was found to be in the wrong, and I more easily prevailed with others to give up their mistakes and join with me when I happened to be in the right.

And this mode, which I at first put on with some violence to natural inclination, became at length so easy, and so habitual to me, that perhaps for these fifty years past no one has ever heard a dogmatical expression escape me. And to this habit (after my character of integrity) I think it principally owing that I had early so much weight with my fellow-citizens when I proposed new institutions, or alterations in the old, and so much influence in public councils when I became a member; for I was but a bad speaker, never eloquent, subject to much hesitation in my choice of words, hardly correct in language, and yet I generally carried my points.

In reality, there is, perhaps, no one of our natural passions so hard to subdue as pride. Disguise it, struggle with it, beat it down, stifle it, mortify it as much as one pleases,

it is still alive, and will every now and then peep out and show itself; you will see it, perhaps, often in this history; for, even if I could conceive that I had completely overcome it, I should probably be proud of my humility.*

* Thus far written at Passy, 1784.

CHAPTER XI

ENTERPRISES AND IDEALS

I AM now about to write at home [Philadelphia], August, 1788, but cannot have the help expected from my papers, many of them being lost in the war. — B. F.

Having mentioned a "great and extensive project" which I had conceived, it seems proper that some account should be here given of that project and its object. Its first rise in my mind appears in the following little paper, accidentally preserved, viz. : —

Observations on my reading history, in Library, May 19, 1731.

"That the great affairs of the world, the wars, revolutions, etc., are carried on and affected by parties.

"That the view of these parties is their present general interest, or what they take to be such.

"That the different views of these different parties occasion all confusion.

"That while a party is carrying on a general design, each man has his particular private interest in view.

"That as soon as a party has gained its general point, each member becomes intent upon his particular interest; which, thwarting others, breaks that party into divisions, and occasions more confusion.

"That few in public affairs act from a mere view of the good of their country, whatever they may pretend; and, though their actings bring real good to their country, yet

men primarily considered that their own and their country's interest was united, and did not act from a principle of benevolence.

"That fewer still, in public affairs, act with a view to the good of mankind.

"There seems to me at present to be great occasion for raising a United Party for Virtue, by forming the virtuous and good men of all nations into a regular body, to be governed by suitable, good, and wise rules, which good and wise men may probably be more unanimous in their obedience to, than common people are to common laws.

"I at present think that whoever attempts this aright, and is well qualified, cannot fail of pleasing God, and of meeting with success. B. F."

Revolving this project in my mind, as to be undertaken hereafter, when my circumstances should afford me the necessary leisure, I put down from time to time, on pieces of paper, such thoughts as occurred to me respecting it. Most of these are lost; but I find one purporting to be the substance of an intended creed, containing, as I thought, the essentials of every known religion, and being free of everything that might shock the professors of any religion. It is expressed in these words, viz.: —

"That there is one God, who made all things.

"That He governs the world by his providence.

"That He ought to be worshipped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving.

"But that the most acceptable service of God is doing good to man.

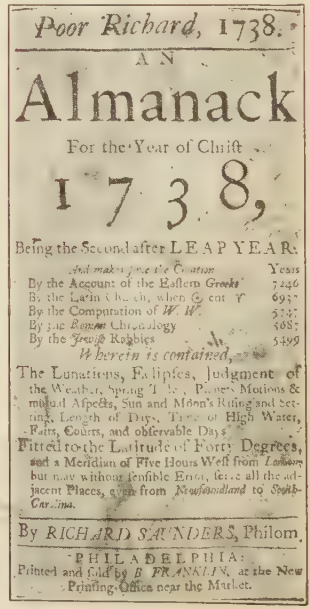
"That the soul is immortal.

"And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter."

My ideas at that time were that the sect should be begun and spread at first among young and single men only; that each person to be initiated should not only declare his assent to such creed, but should have exercised himself with the thirteen weeks' examination and practice of the virtues, as in the before-mentioned model; that the existence of such a society should be kept a secret, till it was become considerable, to prevent solicitations for the admission of improper persons, but that the members should each of them search among his acquaintance for ingenuous, well-disposed youths, to whom, with prudent caution, the scheme should be gradually communicated; that the members should engage to afford their advice, assistance, and support to each other in promoting one another's interests, business, and advancement in life; that, for distinction, we should be called "The Society of the Free and Easy": free, as being, by the general practice and habit of the virtues, free from the dominion of vice; and particularly by the practice of industry and frugality, free from debt, which exposes a man to confinement, and a species of slavery to his creditors.

This is as much as I can now recollect of the project, except that I communicated it in part to two young men, who adopted it with some enthusiasm; but my then narrow circumstances, and the necessity I was under of sticking close to my business, occasioned my postponing the further prosecution of it at that time; and my multifarious occupations, public and private, induced me to continue postponing, so that it has been omitted till I have no longer strength or activity left sufficient for such an enterprise; though I am still of opinion that it was a practicable scheme, and might have been very useful, by forming a

great number of good citizens; and I was not discouraged by the seeming magnitude of the undertaking, as I have always thought that one man of tolerable abilities may work great changes, and accomplish great affairs among mankind, if he first forms a good plan, and, cutting off all amusements or other employments that would divert his attention, makes the execution of that same plan his sole study and business.



Poor Richard, 1738.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Christ

1738,

Being the Second after LEAP YEAR.

And makes since the Creation	Years
By the Account of the Eastern *Greeks*	7246
By the Latin Church, when ☉ ent ♈	6937
By the Computation of *W. W.*	5747
By the *Roman* Chronology	5687
By the *Jewish* Rabbies	5499

Wherein is contained,

The Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aspects, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and observable Days.

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours West from *London*, but may without sensible Error, serve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and sold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing-Office near the Market.

TITLE PAGE OF THE SEVENTH ISSUE OF FRANKLIN'S ALMANAC

In 1732 I first published my Almanack, under the name of Richard Saunders. It was continued by me about twenty-five years, commonly called *Poor Richard's Almanac*. I endeavored to make it both entertaining and useful; and it accordingly came to be in such demand that I reaped considerable profit from it, vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, scarce any neighborhood in the province being without it, I considered it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books. I therefore filled all the little spaces that occurred between the remarkable days in the calendar with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and

frugality as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as, to use here one of those proverbs, "it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright."

These proverbs, which contained the wisdom of many ages and nations, I assembled and formed into a connected discourse prefixed to the Almanack of 1757, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction. The bringing all these scattered counsels thus into a focus enabled them to make greater impression. The piece, being universally approved, was copied in all the newspapers of the continent; reprinted in Britain on a broadside, to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in French, and great numbers bought by the clergy and gentry, to distribute gratis among their poor parishioners and tenants. In Pennsylvania, as it discouraged useless expense in foreign superfluities, some thought it had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money which was observable for several years after its publication.

I considered my newspaper, also, as another means of communicating instruction, and in that view frequently reprinted in it extracts from the *Spectator*, and other moral writers; and sometimes published little pieces of my own, which had been first composed for reading in our Junto. Of these are a Socratic dialogue, tending to prove that, whatever might be his parts and abilities, a vicious man could not properly be called a man of sense; and a discourse on self-denial, showing that virtue was not secure till its practice became a habitude, and was free from the opposition of contrary inclinations. These may be found in the papers about the beginning of 1735.

In the conduct of my newspaper, I carefully excluded all libelling and personal abuse, which is of late years become so disgraceful to our country. Whenever I was solicited to insert anything of that kind, and the writers pleaded, as they generally did, the liberty of the press, and that a newspaper was like a stage-coach, in which any one who would pay had a right to a place, my answer was, that I would print the piece separately if desired, and the author might have as many copies as he pleased to distribute himself, but that I would not take upon me to spread his detraction; and that, having contracted with my subscribers to furnish them with what might be either useful or entertaining, I could not fill their papers with private altercation, in which they had no concern, without doing them manifest injustice. Now, many of our printers make no scruple of gratifying the malice of individuals by false accusations of the fairest characters among ourselves, augmenting animosity even to the producing of duels; and are, moreover, so indiscreet as to print scurrilous reflections on the government of neighboring states, and even on the conduct of our best national allies, which may be attended with the most pernicious consequences. These things I mention as a caution to young printers, and that they may be encouraged not to pollute their presses and disgrace their profession by such infamous practices, but refuse steadily, as they may see by my example that such a course of conduct will not, on the whole, be injurious to their interests.

In 1733 I sent one of my journeymen to Charleston, South Carolina, where a printer was wanting. I furnished him with a press and letters, on an agreement of partnership, by which I was to receive one third of the profits of

the business, paying one third of the expense. He was a man of learning, and honest but ignorant in matters of account; and, though he sometimes made me remittances, I could get no account from him, nor any satisfactory statement of our partnership while he lived. On his decease, the business was continued by his widow, who, being born and bred in Holland, where, as I have been informed, the knowledge of accounts makes a part of female education, she not only sent me as clear a statement as she could find of the transactions past, but continued to account with the greatest regularity and exactness every quarter afterwards, and managed the business with such success, that she not only brought up reputably a family of children, but, at the expiration of the term, was able to purchase of me the printing-house, and establish her son in it.

I mention this affair chiefly for the sake of recommending that branch of education for our young females, as likely to be of more use to them and their children, in case of widowhood, than either music or dancing, by preserving them from losses by imposition of crafty men, and enabling them to continue, perhaps, a profitable mercantile house, with established correspondence, till a son is grown up fit to undertake and go on with it, to the lasting advantage and enriching of the family.

About the year 1734 there arrived among us from Ireland a young Presbyterian preacher, named Hemphill, who delivered with a good voice, and apparently extempore, most excellent discourses, which drew together considerable numbers of different persuasions, who joined in admiring them. Among the rest, I became one of his constant hearers, his sermons pleasing me, as they had

little of the dogmatical kind, but inculcated strongly the practice of virtue, or what in the religious style are called good works. Those, however, of our congregation, who considered themselves as orthodox Presbyterians, disapproved his doctrine, and were joined by most of the old clergy, who arraigned him of heterodoxy before the synod, in order to have him silenced. I became his zealous partisan, and contributed all I could to raise a party in his favor, and we combated for him a while with some hopes of success. There was much scribbling pro and con upon the occasion; and finding that, though an elegant preacher, he was but a poor writer, I lent him my pen and wrote for him two or three pamphlets, and one piece in the *Gazette* of April, 1735. Those pamphlets, as is generally the case with controversial writings, though eagerly read at the time, were soon out of vogue, and I question whether a single copy of them now exists.

During the contest an unlucky occurrence hurt his cause exceedingly. One of our adversaries having heard him preach a sermon that was much admired, thought he had somewhere read the sermon before, or at least a part of it. On search, he found that part quoted at length, in one of the *British Reviews*, from a discourse of Dr. Foster's. This detection gave many of our party disgust, who accordingly abandoned his cause, and occasioned our more speedy discomfiture in the synod. I stuck by him, however, as I rather approved his giving us good sermons composed by others, than bad ones of his own manufacture, though the latter was the practice of our common teachers. He afterward acknowledged to me that none of those he preached were his own; adding, that his memory was such as enabled him to retain and repeat any sermon after

one reading only. On our defeat, he left us in search elsewhere of better fortune, and I quitted the congregation, never joining it after, though I continued many years my subscription for the support of its ministers.

I had begun in 1733 to study languages. I soon made myself so much a master of the French as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian. An acquaintance, who was also learning it, used often to tempt me to play chess with him. Finding this took up too much of the time I had to spare for study, I at length refused to play any more, unless on this condition, that the victor in every game should have a right to impose a task, either in parts of the grammar to be got by heart, or in translations, etc., which tasks the vanquished was to perform upon honor, before our next meeting. As we played pretty equally, we thus beat one another into that language. I afterwards, with a little painstaking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also.

I have already mentioned that I had only one year's instruction in a Latin school, and that when very young, after which I neglected that language entirely. But when I had attained an acquaintance with the French, Italian, and Spanish, I was surprised to find, on looking over a Latin Testament, that I understood so much more of that language than I had imagined, which encouraged me to apply myself again to the study of it, and I met with more success, as those preceding languages had greatly smoothed my way.

From these circumstances, I have thought that there is some inconsistency in our common mode of teaching languages. We are told that it is proper to begin first with the Latin, and, having acquired that, it will be more easy

to attain those modern languages which are derived from it; and yet we do not begin with the Greek, in order more easily to acquire the Latin. It is true that, if you can clamber and get to the top of a staircase without using the steps, you will more easily gain them in descending; but certainly, if you begin with the lowest you will with more ease ascend to the top; and I would therefore offer it to the consideration of those who superintend the education of our youth, whether, since many of those who begin with the Latin quit the same after spending some years without having made any great proficiency, and what they have learned becomes almost useless, so that their time has been lost, it would not have been better to have begun with the French, proceeding to the Italian, etc.; for, though, after spending the same time, they should quit the study of languages and never arrive at the Latin, they would, however, have acquired another tongue or two, that, being in modern use, might be serviceable to them in common life.

After ten years' absence from Boston, and having become easy in my circumstances, I made a journey thither to visit my relations, which I could not sooner well afford. In returning, I called at Newport to see my brother, then settled there with his printing-house. Our former differences were forgotten, and our meeting was very cordial and affectionate. He was fast declining in his health, and requested of me that, in case of his death, which he apprehended not far distant, I would take home his son, then but ten years of age, and bring him up to the printing business. This I accordingly performed, sending him a few years to school before I took him into the office. His mother carried on the business till he was grown up, when

I assisted him with an assortment of new types, those of his father being in a manner worn out. Thus it was that I made my brother ample amends for the service I had deprived him of by leaving him so early.

In 1736 I lost one of my sons, a fine boy of four years old, by the small-pox, taken in the common way. I long regretted bitterly, and still regret that I had not given it to him by inoculation. This I mention for the sake of parents who omit that operation, on the supposition that they should never forgive themselves if a child died under it; my example showing that the regret may be the same either way, and that therefore, the safer should be chosen.

Our club, the Junto, was found so useful, and afforded such satisfaction to the members, that several were desirous of introducing their friends, which could not well be done without exceeding what we had settled as a convenient number, viz., twelve. We had from the beginning made it a rule to keep our institution a secret, which was pretty well observed. The intention was to avoid applications of improper persons for admittance, some of whom, perhaps, we might find it difficult to refuse. I was one of those who were against any addition to our number, but, instead of it, made in writing a proposal that every member separately should endeavor to form a subordinate club, with the same rules respecting queries, etc., and without informing them of the connection with the Junto. The advantages proposed were, the improvement of so many more young citizens by the use of our institutions; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion, as the Junto member might propose what queries we should desire, and was to report to the Junto what passed in his separate club; the pro-

motion of our particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation, and the increase of our influence in public affairs, and our power of doing good by spreading through the several clubs the sentiments of the Junto.

The project was approved, and every member undertook to form his club, but they did not all succeed. Five or six only were completed, which were called by different names, as the Vine, the Union, the Band, etc. They were useful to themselves, and afforded us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction, besides answering, in some considerable degree, our views of influencing the public opinion on particular occasions, of which I shall give some instances in course of time as they happened.

CHAPTER XII

THE REVEREND GEORGE WHITEFIELD

My first promotion was my being chosen, in 1736, clerk of the General Assembly. The choice was made that year without opposition; but the year following, when I was again proposed (the choice, like that of the members, being annual), a new member made a long speech against me, in order to favor some other candidate. I was, however, chosen, which was the more agreeable to me, as, besides the pay for the immediate service as clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secured to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that, on the whole, were very profitable.

I therefore did not like the opposition of this new member, who was a gentleman of fortune and education, with talents that were likely to give him, in time, great influence in the House, which indeed afterwards happened. I did not, however, aim at gaining his favor by paying any servile respect to him, but, after some time, took this other method. Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting he would do me the favor of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately, and I returned it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly my sense of the

favor. When we next met in the House, he spoke to me (which he had never done before), and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says, "He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged." And it shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove, than to resent, return, and continue inimical proceedings.

In 1737, Colonel Spotswood, late governor of Virginia, and then postmaster-general, being dissatisfied with the conduct of his deputy at Philadelphia, respecting some negligence in rendering, and inexactitude of his accounts, took from him the commission and offered it to me. I accepted it readily, and found it of great advantage; for though the salary was small it facilitated the correspondence that improved my newspaper, increased the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income. My old competitor's newspaper declined proportionably, and I was satisfied without retaliating his refusal, while postmaster, to permit my papers being carried by the riders. Thus he suffered greatly from his neglect in due accounting; and I mention it as a lesson to those young men who may be employed in managing affairs for others, that they should always render accounts, and make remittances, with great clearness and punctuality. The character of observing such a conduct is the most powerful of all recommendations to new employments and increase of business.

I began now to turn my thoughts a little to public affairs,

beginning, however, with small matters. The city watch was one of the first things that I conceived to want regulation. It was managed by the constables of the respective wards in turn; the constable warned a number of housekeepers to attend him for the night. Those who chose never to attend paid him six shillings a year to be excused, which was supposed to be for hiring substitutes, but was, in reality, much more than was necessary for that purpose, and made the constableship a place of profit; and the constable, for a little drink, often got such ragamuffins about him as a watch that respectable housekeepers did not choose to mix with. Walking the rounds, too, was often neglected, and most of the nights spent in tippling. I thereupon wrote a paper to be read in Junto, representing these irregularities, but insisting more particularly on the inequality of this six-shilling tax of the constables, respecting the circumstances of those who paid it, since a poor widow housekeeper, all whose property to be guarded by the watch did not perhaps exceed the value of fifty pounds, paid as much as the wealthiest merchant, who had thousands of pounds' worth of goods in his stores.

On the whole, I proposed as a more effectual watch, the hiring of proper men to serve constantly in that business; and as a more equitable way of supporting the charge, the levying a tax that should be proportioned to the property. This idea, being approved by the Junto, was communicated to the other clubs, but as arising in each of them; and though the plan was not immediately carried into execution, yet, by preparing the minds of people for the change, it paved the way for the law obtained a few years after, when the members of our clubs were grown into more influence.

About this time I wrote a paper (first to be read in Junto, but it was afterward published) on the different accidents and carelessnesses by which houses were set on fire, with cautions against them, and means proposed of avoiding them. This was much spoken of as a useful piece, and gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger. Associates in this scheme were presently found, amounting to thirty. Our articles of agreement obliged every member to keep always in good order, and fit for use, a certain number of leather buckets, with strong bags and baskets (for packing and transporting of goods), which were to be brought to every fire; and we agreed to meet once a month and spend a social evening together, in discoursing and communicating such ideas as occurred to us upon the subject of fires, as might be useful in our conduct on such occasions.

The utility of this institution soon appeared, and many more desiring to be admitted than we thought convenient for one company, they were advised to form another, which was accordingly done; and this went on, one new company being formed after another, till they became so numerous as to include most of the inhabitants who were men of property; and now, at the time of my writing this, though upward of fifty years since its establishment, that which I first formed, called the Union Fire Company, still subsists and flourishes, though the first members are all deceased but myself and one, who is older by a year than I am. The small fines that have been paid by members for absence at the monthly meetings have been applied to the purchase of fire-engines, ladders, fire-hooks, and other

useful implements for each company, so that I question whether there is a city in the world better provided with the means of putting a stop to beginning conflagrations; and, in fact, since these institutions, the city has never lost by fire more than one or two houses at a time, and the flames have often been extinguished before the house in which they began had been half consumed.

In 1739 arrived among us from Ireland the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields. The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admired and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them they were naturally half beasts and half devils. It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.

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GEORGE WHITEFIELD

And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was no sooner proposed, and persons appointed to receive contributions, but sufficient sums were soon received to procure the ground and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad, about the size of Westminster Hall; and the work was carried on with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected. Both house and ground were vested in trustees, expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people at Philadelphia; the design in building not being to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service.

Mr. Whitefield, in leaving us, went preaching all the way through the Colonies to Georgia. The settlement of that province had lately been begun, but, instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen accustomed to labor, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shopkeepers and other insolvent debtors, many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who, being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspired the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preached up this charity, and made large collections,

for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance.

I did not disapprove of the design, but, as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house here, and brought the children to it. This I advised; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refused to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all. At this sermon there was also one of our club, who, being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had, by precaution, emptied his pockets before he came from home. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong desire to give, and applied to a neighbor, who stood near him, to borrow some money for the purpose. The application was unfortunately made to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "At any other time, Friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to be out of thy right senses."

Some of Mr. Whitefield's enemies affected to suppose that he would apply these collections to his own private emolument; but I, who was intimately acquainted with him (being employed in printing his sermons and journals, etc.), never had the least suspicion of his integrity, but am to this day decidedly of opinion that he was in all his conduct a perfectly honest man; and methinks my testimony in his favor ought to have the more weight, as we had no religious connection. He used, indeed, sometimes to pray for my conversion, but never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasted to his death.

The following instance will show something of the terms on which we stood. Upon one of his arrivals from England at Boston he wrote to me that he should come soon to Philadelphia, but knew not where he could lodge when there, as he understood his old friend and host, Mr. Benezet, was removed to Germantown. My answer was, "You know my house; if you can make shift with its scanty accommodations, you will be most heartily welcome." He replied, that if I made that kind offer for Christ's sake, I should not miss of a reward. And I returned, "Don't let me be mistaken; it was not for Christ's sake, but for your sake." One of our common acquaintance jocosely remarked, that, knowing it to be the custom of the saints, when they received any favor, to shift the burden of the obligation from off their own shoulders, and place it in heaven, I had contrived to fix it on earth.

The last time I saw Mr. Whitefield was in London, when he consulted me about his Orphan House concern, and his purpose of appropriating it to the establishment of a college.

He had a loud and clear voice, and articulated his words and sentences so perfectly, that he might be heard and understood at a great distance, especially as his auditories, however numerous, observed the most exact silence. He preached one evening from the top of the Court-House steps, which are in the middle of Market Street, and on the west side of Second Street, which crosses it at right angles. Both streets were filled with his hearers to a considerable distance. Being among the hindmost in Market Street, I had the curiosity to learn how far he could be heard, by retiring backwards down the street towards the river; and I found his voice distinct till I came near Front Street, when some noise in that street obscured it. Imagining then a semicircle, of which my distance should be the radius, and that it were filled with auditors, to each of whom I allowed two square feet, I computed that he might well be heard by more than thirty thousand. This reconciled me to the newspaper accounts of his having preached to twenty-five thousand people in the fields, and to the ancient histories of generals haranguing whole armies, of which I had sometimes doubted.

By hearing him often, I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly composed, and those which he had often preached in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter was so improved by frequent repetitions that every accent, every emphasis, every modulation of voice was so perfectly well turned and well placed, that, without being interested in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse; a pleasure of much the same kind with that received from an excellent piece of music. This is an advantage itinerant preachers have over those who are stationary, as the latter cannot

well improve their delivery of a sermon by so many rehearsals.

His writing and printing from time to time gave great advantage to his enemies; unguarded expressions, and even erroneous opinions, delivered in preaching, might have been afterwards explained or qualified by supposing others that might have accompanied them, or they might have been denied; but *litera scripta manet.* Critics attacked his writings violently, and with so much appearance of reason as to diminish the number of his votaries and prevent their increase; so that I am of opinion if he had never written anything, he would have left behind him a much more numerous and important sect, and his reputation might in that case have been still growing, even after his death, as there being nothing of his writing on which to found a censure and give him a lower character, his proselytes would be left at liberty to feign for him as great a variety of excellences as their enthusiastic admiration might wish him to have possessed.

CHAPTER XIII

FRANKLIN AND THE QUAKERS

My business was now continually augmenting, and my circumstances growing daily easier, my newspaper having become very profitable, as being for a time almost the only one in this and the neighboring provinces. I experienced, too, the truth of the observation, "that after getting the first hundred pounds, it is more easy to get the second," money itself being of a prolific nature.

The partnership at Carolina having succeeded, I was encouraged to engage in others, and to promote several of my workmen, who had behaved well, by establishing them with printing-houses in different colonies, on the same terms with that in Carolina. Most of them did well, being enabled at the end of our term, six years, to purchase the types of me and go on working for themselves, by which means several families were raised. Partnerships often finish in quarrels; but I was happy in this, that mine were all carried on and ended amicably, owing, I think, a good deal to the precaution of having very explicitly settled, in our articles, everything to be done by or expected from each partner, so that there was nothing to dispute, which precaution I would therefore recommend to all who enter into partnerships; for, whatever esteem partners may have for, and confidence in each other at the time of the contract, little jealousies and disgusts may arise, with ideas of inequality in the care and burden of the business,

etc., which are attended often with breach of friendship and of the connection, perhaps with lawsuits and other disagreeable consequences.

I had, on the whole, abundant reason to be satisfied with my being established in Pennsylvania. There were, however, two things that I regretted, there being no provision for defence, nor for a complete education of youth: no militia, nor any college. I therefore, in 1743, drew up a proposal for establishing an academy; and at that time, thinking the Reverend Mr. Peters, who was out of employ, a fit person to superintend such an institution, I communicated the project to him; but he, having more profitable views in the service of the proprietaries, which succeeded, declined the undertaking; and, not knowing another at that time suitable for such a trust, I let the scheme lie a while dormant. I succeeded better the next year, 1744, in proposing and establishing a Philosophical Society. The paper I wrote for that purpose will be found among my writings, when collected.

With respect to defence, Spain having been several years at war against Great Britain, and being at length joined by France, which brought us into great danger, and the labored and long-continued endeavor of our governor, Thomas, to prevail with our Quaker Assembly to pass a militia law, and make other provisions for the security of the province, having proved abortive, I determined to try what might be done by a voluntary association of the people. To promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled *Plain Truth*, in which I stated our defenceless situation in strong lights, with the necessity of union and discipline for our defence, and promised to propose in a few days an association, to be generally signed for

that purpose. The pamphlet had a sudden and surprising effect. I was called upon for the instrument of association, and having settled the draft of it with a few friends, I appointed a meeting of the citizens in the large building before mentioned. The house was pretty full; I had prepared a number of printed copies, and provided pens and ink dispersed all over the room. I harangued them a little on the subject, read the paper, and explained it, and then distributed the copies, which were eagerly signed, not the least objection being made.

When the company separated, and the papers were collected, we found above twelve hundred hands; and other copies being dispersed in the country, the subscribers amounted at length to upward of ten thousand. These all furnished themselves as soon as they could with arms, formed themselves into companies and regiments, chose their own officers, and met every week to be instructed in the manual exercise, and other parts of military discipline. The women, by subscriptions among themselves, provided silk colors, which they presented to the companies, painted with different devices and mottoes, which I supplied.

The officers of the companies composing the Philadelphia regiment, being met, chose me for their colonel; but, conceiving myself unfit, I declined that station, and recommended Mr. Lawrence, a fine person and man of influence, who was accordingly appointed. I then proposed a lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the town, and furnishing it with cannon. It filled expeditiously, and the battery was soon erected, the merlons being framed of logs and filled with earth. We bought some old cannon from Boston, but these not being suf-

ficient, we wrote to England for more, soliciting, at the same time, our proprietaries for some assistance, though without much expectation of obtaining it.

Meanwhile Colonel Lawrence, William Allen, Abram Taylor, Esquire, and myself were sent to New York by the associators, commissioned to borrow some cannon of Governor Clinton. He at first refused us peremptorily; but at dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanced to ten; and at length he very good-naturedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, eighteen-pounders, with their carriages, which we soon transported and mounted on our battery, where the associators kept a nightly guard while the war lasted, and among the rest I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier.

My activity in these operations was agreeable to the governor and council; they took me into confidence, and I was consulted by them in every measure wherein their concurrence was thought useful to the association. Calling in the aid of religion, I proposed to them the proclaiming a fast, to promote reformation, and implore the blessing of Heaven on our undertaking. They embraced the motion; but, as it was the first fast ever thought of in the province, the secretary had no precedent from which to draw the proclamation. My education in New England, where a fast is proclaimed every year, was here of some advantage: I drew it in the accustomed style; it was translated into German, printed in both languages, and divulged through the province. This gave the clergy of the different sects an opportunity of influencing their

congregations to join in the association, and it would probably have been general among all but Quakers if the peace had not soon intervened.

It was thought by some of my friends that, by my activity in these affairs, I should offend that sect, and thereby lose my interest in the Assembly of the province,

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"I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier."

where they formed a great majority. A young gentleman, who had likewise some friends in the House, and wished to succeed me as their clerk, acquainted me that it was decided to displace me at the next election; and he, therefore, in good will, advised me to resign, as more consistent with my honor than being turned out. My answer to him was that I had read or heard of some public man who

made it a rule never to ask for an office, and never to refuse one when offered to him. "I approve," says I, "of his rule, and will practise it with a small addition: I shall never ask, never refuse, nor ever resign an office. If they will have my office of clerk to dispose of to another, they shall take it from me. I will not, by giving it up, lose my right of some time or other making reprisals on my adversaries." I heard, however, no more of this; I was chosen again unanimously as usual at the next election. Possibly, as they disliked my late intimacy with the members of council, who had joined the governors in all the disputes about military preparations, with which the House had long been harassed, they might have been pleased if I would voluntarily have left them; but they did not care to displace me on account merely of my zeal for the association, and they could not well give another reason.

Indeed, I had some cause to believe that the defence of the country was not disagreeable to any of them, provided they were not required to assist in it. And I found that a much greater number of them than I could have imagined, though against offensive war were clearly for the defensive. Many pamphlets pro and con were published on the subject, and some by good Quakers, in favor of defence, which I believe convinced most of their younger people.

A transaction in our fire company gave me some insight into their prevailing sentiments. It had been proposed that we should encourage the scheme for building a battery by laying out the present stock, then about sixty pounds, in tickets of the lottery. By our rules, no money could be disposed of till the next meeting after the proposal. The company consisted of thirty members, of

which twenty-two were Quakers, and eight only of other persuasions. We eight punctually attended the meeting; but though we thought that some of the Quakers would join us, we were by no means sure of a majority. Only one Quaker, Mr. James Morris, appeared to oppose the measure. He expressed much sorrow that it had ever been proposed, as he said Friends were all against it, and it would create such discord as might break up the company. We told him that we saw no reason for that; we were the minority, and if Friends were against the measure, and outvoted us, we must and should, agreeably to the usage of all societies, submit. When the hour for business arrived it was moved to put the vote; he allowed we might then do it by the rules, but, as he could assure us that a number of members intended to be present for the purpose of opposing it, it would be but candid to allow a little time for their appearing.

While we were disputing this, a waiter came to tell me two gentlemen below desired to speak with me. I went down, and found they were two of our Quaker members. They told me there were eight of them assembled at a tavern just by; that they were determined to come and vote with us if there should be occasion, which they hoped would not be the case, and desired we would not call for their assistance if we could do without it, as their voting for such a measure might embroil them with their elders and friends. Being thus secure of a majority, I went up, and after a little seeming hesitation, agreed to a delay of another hour. This Mr. Morris allowed to be extremely fair. Not one of his opposing friends appeared, at which he expressed great surprise; and at the expiration of the hour, we carried the resolution eight to one; and as, of the

twenty-two Quakers, eight were ready to vote with us, and thirteen, by their absence, manifested that they were not inclined to oppose the measure, I afterwards estimated the proportion of Quakers sincerely against defence as one to twenty-one only; for these were all regular members of that society, and in good reputation among them, and had due notice of what was proposed at that meeting.

The honorable and learned Mr. Logan, who had always been of that sect, was one who wrote an address to them, declaring his approbation of defensive war, and supporting his opinion by many strong arguments. He put into my hands sixty pounds to be laid out in lottery tickets for the battery, with directions to apply what prizes might be drawn wholly to that service. He told me the following anecdote of his old master, William Penn, respecting defence. He came over from England, when a young man, with that proprietary, and as his secretary. It was war time, and their ship was chased by an armed vessel, supposed to be an enemy. Their captain prepared for defence; but told William Penn, and his company of Quakers, that he did not expect their assistance, and they might retire into the cabin, which they did, except James Logan, who chose to stay upon deck, and was quartered to a gun. The supposed enemy proved a friend, so there was no fighting; but when the secretary went down to communicate the intelligence, William Penn rebuked him severely for staying upon deck, and undertaking to assist in defending the vessel, contrary to the principles of Friends, especially as it had not been required by the captain. This reproof, being before all the company, piqued the secretary, who answered, "I being thy servant, why did thee not order me to come down? But thee was will-

ing enough that I should stay and help to fight the ship when thee thought there was danger."

My being many years in the Assembly, the majority of which were constantly Quakers, gave me frequent opportunities of seeing the embarrassment given them by their principle against war, whenever application was made to them, by order of the crown, to grant aids for military purposes. They were unwilling to offend government, on the one hand, by a direct refusal; and their friends, the body of the Quakers, on the other, by a compliance contrary to their principles; hence a variety of evasions to avoid complying, and modes of disguising the compliance when it became unavoidable. The common mode at last was to grant money under the phrase of its being "for the king's use," and never to inquire how it was applied.

But if the demand was not directly from the crown, that phrase was found not so proper, and some other was to be invented. As, when powder was wanting (I think it was for the garrison at Louisburg), and the government of New England solicited a grant of some from Pennsylvania, which was much urged on the House by Governor Thomas, they could not grant money to buy powder, because that was an ingredient of war; but they voted an aid to New England of three thousand pounds, to be put into the hands of the governor, and appropriated it "for the purchasing of bread, flour, wheat, or other grain." Some of the council, desirous of giving the House still further embarrassment, advised the governor not to accept provision, as not being the thing he had demanded; but he replied, "I shall take the money, for I understand very well their meaning; other grain is gunpowder," which he accordingly bought, and they never objected to it.

It was in allusion to this fact that when, in our fire company, we feared the success of our proposal in favor of the lottery, and I had said to my friend Mr. Syng, one of our members, "If we fail, let us move the purchase of a fire-engine with the money; the Quakers can have no objection to that; and then, if you nominate me and I you as a committee for that purpose, we will buy a great gun, which is certainly a fire-engine." "I see," says he, "you have improved by being so long in the Assembly; your equivocal project would be just a match for their wheat or other grain."

These embarrassments that the Quakers suffered from having established and published it as one of their principles that no kind of war was lawful, and which, being once published, they could not afterwards, however they might change their minds, easily get rid of, reminds me of what I think a more prudent conduct in another sect among us, that of the Dunkers. I was acquainted with one of its founders, Michael Welfare, soon after it appeared. He complained to me that they were grievously calumniated by the zealots of other persuasions, and charged with abominable principles and practices, to which they were utter strangers. I told him this had always been the case with new sects, and that, to put a stop to such abuse, I imagined it might be well to publish the articles of their belief, and the rules of their discipline. He said that it had been proposed among them, but not agreed to, for this reason: "When we were first drawn together as a society," says he, "it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines, which we once esteemed truths, were errors; and that others, which we had esteemed errors, were real truths. From time to

time He has been pleased to afford us farther light, and our principles have been improving, and our errors diminishing. Now we are not sure that we are arrived at the end of this progression, and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge; and we fear that, if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves as if bound and confined by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive farther improvement, and our successors still more so, as conceiving what we their elders and founders had done, to be something sacred, never to be departed from."

This modesty in a sect is perhaps a singular instance in the history of mankind, every other sect supposing itself in possession of all truth, and that those who differ are so far in the wrong; like a man travelling in foggy weather, those at some distance before him on the road he sees wrapped up in the fog, as well as those behind him, and also the people in the fields on each side, but near him all appears clear, though in truth he is as much in the fog as any of them. To avoid this kind of embarrassment, the Quakers have of late years been gradually declining the public service in the Assembly and in the magistracy, choosing rather to quit their power than their principle.

In order of time, I should have mentioned before, that having, in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who, having an iron-furnace, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand, I wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled *An Account of the new-invented Pennsylvania Fireplaces; wherein their Construc-*

tion and Manner of Operation is particularly explained; their Advantages above every other Method of warming Rooms demonstrated; and all Objections that have been raised against the Use of them answered and obviated, etc. This pamphlet had a good effect. Governor Thomas was so pleased with the construction of this stove, as described in it, that he offered to give me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declined it from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions, viz., that, as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously.

An ironmonger in London, however, assuming a good deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the machine, which rather hurt its operation, got a patent for it there, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of patents taken out for my inventions by others, though not always with the same success, which I never contested, as having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fireplaces in very many houses, both of this and the neighboring colonies, has been, and is, a great saving of wood to the inhabitants.

Peace being concluded, and the association business therefore at an end, I turned my thoughts again to the affair of establishing an academy. The first step I took was to associate in the design a number of active friends, of whom the Junto furnished a good part; the next was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*. This I distrib-

uted among the principal inhabitants gratis; and as soon as I could suppose their minds a little prepared by the perusal of it, I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy; it was to be paid in quotas yearly for five years; by so dividing it, I judged the subscription might be larger, and I believe it was so, amounting to no less, if I remember right, than five thousand pounds.

In the introduction to these proposals, I stated their publication, not as an act of mine, but of some public-spirited gentlemen, avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule, the presenting myself to the public as the author of any scheme for their benefit.

The subscribers, to carry the project into immediate execution, chose out of their number twenty-four trustees, and appointed Mr. Francis, then attorney-general, and myself to draw up constitutions for the government of the academy; which being done and signed, a house was hired, masters engaged, and the schools opened, I think, in the same year, 1749.

The scholars increasing fast, the house was soon found too small, and we were looking out for a piece of ground, properly situated, with intention to build, when Providence threw into our way a large house ready built, which, with a few alterations, might well serve our purpose. This was the building before mentioned, erected by the hearers of Mr. Whitefield, and was obtained for us in the following manner.

It is to be noted that the contributions to this building being made by people of different sects, care was taken in the nomination of trustees, in whom the building and ground was to be vested, that a predominancy should not be given to any sect, lest in time that predominancy might

be a means of appropriating the whole to the use of such sect, contrary to the original intention. It was therefore that one of each sect was appointed, viz., one Church-of-England man, one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one Moravian, etc., those, in case of vacancy by death, were to fill it by election from among the contributors. The Moravian happened not to please his colleagues, and on his death they resolved to have no other of that sect. The difficulty then was, how to avoid having two of some other sect, by means of the new choice.

Several persons were named, and for that reason not agreed to. At length one mentioned me, with the observation that I was merely an honest man, and of no sect at all, which prevailed with them to choose me. The enthusiasm which existed when the house was built had long since abated, and its trustees had not been able to procure fresh contributions for paying the ground-rent, and discharging some other debts the building had occasioned, which embarrassed them greatly. Being now a member of both sets of trustees, that for the building and that for the academy, I had a good opportunity of negotiating with both, and brought them finally to an agreement, by which the trustees for the building were to cede it to those of the academy, the latter undertaking to discharge the debt, to keep forever open in the building a large hall for occasional preachers, according to the original intention, and maintain a free school for the instruction of poor children. Writings were accordingly drawn, and on paying the debts the trustees of the academy were put in possession of the premises; and by dividing the great and lofty hall into stories, and different rooms above and below for the several schools, and purchasing some

additional ground, the whole was soon made fit for our purpose, and the scholars removed into the building. The care and trouble of agreeing with the workmen, purchasing materials, and superintending the work, fell upon me; and I went through it the more cheerfully, as it did not then interfere with my private business, having the year before taken a very able, industrious, and honest partner, Mr. David Hall, with whose character I was well acquainted, as he had worked for me four years. He took off my hands all care of the printing office, paying me punctually my share of the profits. This partnership continued eighteen years, successfully for us both.

The trustees of the academy, after a while, were incorporated by a charter from the governor; their funds were increased by contributions in Britain and grants of land from the proprietaries, to which the Assembly has since made considerable addition; and thus was established the present University of Philadelphia. I have been continued one of its trustees from the beginning, now near forty years, and have had the very great pleasure of seeing a number of the youth who have received their education in it, distinguished by their improved abilities, serviceable in public stations, and ornaments to their country.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MAN OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

When I disengaged myself, as above mentioned, from private business, I flattered myself that by the sufficient though moderate fortune I had acquired, I had secured leisure during the rest of my life for philosophical studies and amusements. I purchased all Dr. Spence's apparatus, who had come from England to lecture here, and I proceeded in my electrical experiments with great alacrity; but the public, now considering me as a man of leisure, laid hold of me for their purposes, every part of our civil government, and almost at the same time, imposing some duty upon me. The governor put me into the commission of the peace; the corporation of the city chose me of the common council, and soon after an alderman; and the citizens at large chose me a burgess to represent them in Assembly. This latter station was the more agreeable to me, as I was at length tired with sitting there to hear debates, in which, as clerk, I could take no part, and which were often so unentertaining that I was induced to amuse myself with making magic squares or circles, or anything to avoid weariness; and I conceived my becoming a member would enlarge my power of doing good. I would not, however, insinuate that my ambition was not flattered by all these promotions; it certainly was; for, considering my low beginning, they were great things to me; and they were

still more pleasing, as being so many spontaneous testimonies of the public good opinion, and by me entirely unsolicited.

The office of justice of the peace I tried a little, by attending a few courts, and sitting on the bench to hear causes; but finding that more knowledge of the common law than I possessed was necessary to act in that station with credit, I gradually withdrew from it, excusing myself by my being obliged to attend the higher duties of a legislator in the Assembly. My election to this trust was repeated every year for ten years, without my ever asking any elector for his vote, or signifying, either directly or indirectly, any desire of being chosen. On taking my seat in the House, my son was appointed their clerk.

The year following, a treaty being to be held with the Indians at Carlisle, the governor sent a message to the House, proposing that they should nominate some of their members, to be joined with some members of council, as commissioners for that purpose. The House named the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself; and, being commissioned, we went to Carlisle, and met the Indians accordingly.

As those people are extremely apt to get drunk, and, when so, are very quarrelsome and disorderly, we strictly forbade the selling any liquor to them; and when they complained of this restriction, we told them that if they would continue sober during the treaty, we would give them plenty of rum when business was over. They promised this, and they kept their promise because they could get no liquor, and the treaty was conducted very orderly, and concluded to mutual satisfaction. They then claimed and received the rum; this was in the afternoon: they

were near one hundred men, women, and children, and were lodged in temporary cabins, built in the form of a square, just without the town. In the evening, hearing a great noise among them, the commissioners walked out to see what was the matter. We found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square; they were all drunk, men and women, quarrelling and fighting. Their dark-colored bodies, half naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with firebrands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that could well be imagined; there was no appeasing the tumult, and we retired to our lodging. At midnight a number of them came thundering at our door, demanding more rum, of which we took no notice.

The next day, sensible they had misbehaved in giving us that disturbance, they sent three of their old counsellors to make their apology. The orator acknowledged the fault, but laid it upon the rum; and then endeavored to excuse the rum by saying, "The Great Spirit, who made all things, made everything for some use, and whatever use he designed anything for, that use it should always be put to. Now, when he made rum, he said, 'Let this be for the Indians to get drunk with,' and it must be so." And, indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea-coast.

In 1751, Dr. Thomas Bond, a particular friend of mine, conceived the idea of establishing a hospital in Philadelphia (a very beneficent design, which has been ascribed to

me, but was originally his) for the reception and cure of poor sick persons, whether inhabitants of the province or strangers. He was zealous and active in endeavoring to procure subscriptions for it, but the proposal being a novelty in America, and at first not well understood, he met but with small success.

At length he came to me with the compliment that he found there was no such thing as carrying a public-spirited project through without my being concerned in it. "For," says he, "I am often asked by those to whom I propose subscribing, Have you consulted Franklin upon this business? And what does he think of it? And when I tell them that I have not (supposing it rather out of your line), they do not subscribe, but say they will consider of it." I inquired into the nature and probable utility of his scheme, and receiving from him a very satisfactory explanation, I not only subscribed to it myself, but engaged heartily in the design of procuring subscriptions from others. Previously, however, to the solicitation I endeavored to prepare the minds of the people by writing on the subject in the newspapers, which was my usual custom in such cases, but which he had omitted.

The subscriptions afterwards were more free and generous; but, beginning to flag, I saw they would be insufficient without some assistance from the Assembly, and therefore proposed to petition for it, which was done. The country members did not at first relish the project; they objected that it could only be serviceable to the city, and therefore the citizens alone should be at the expense of it; and they doubted whether the citizens themselves generally approved of it. My allegation on the contrary, that it met with such approbation as to leave no doubt of

our being able to raise two thousand pounds by voluntary donations, they considered as a most extravagant supposition, and utterly impossible.

On this I formed my plan; and, asking leave to bring in a bill for incorporating the contributors according to the prayer of their petition, and granting them a blank sum of money, which leave was obtained chiefly on the consideration that the House could throw the bill out if they did not like it, I drew it so as to make the important clause a conditional one, viz., "And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that when the said contributors shall have met and chosen their managers and treasurer, and shall have raised by their contributions a capital stock of —— value (the yearly interest of which is to be applied to the accommodating of the sick poor in the said hospital, free of charge for diet, attendance, advice, and medicines), and shall make the same appear to the satisfaction of the speaker of the Assembly for the time being, that then it shall and may be lawful for the said speaker, and he is hereby required, to sign an order on the provincial treasurer for the payment of two thousand pounds, in two yearly payments, to the treasurer of the said hospital, to be applied to the founding, building, and finishing of the same."

This condition carried the bill through; for the members who had opposed the grant, and now conceived they might have the credit of being charitable without the expense, agreed to its passage; and then, in soliciting subscriptions among the people, we urged the conditional promise of the law as an additional motive to give, since every man's donation would be doubled; thus the clause worked both ways. The subscriptions accordingly soon exceeded the requisite sum, and we claimed and received the public

gift, which enabled us to carry the design into execution. A convenient and handsome building was soon erected; the institution has by constant experience been found useful, and flourishes to this day; and I do not remember any of my political manœuvres, the success of which gave me at the time more pleasure, or wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excused myself for having made some use of cunning.

It was about this time that another projector, the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, came to me with a request that I would assist him in procuring a subscription for erecting a new meeting-house. It was to be for the use of a congregation he had gathered among the Presbyterians, who were originally disciples of Mr. Whitefield. Unwilling to make myself disagreeable to my fellow-citizens by too frequently soliciting their contributions, I absolutely refused. He then desired I would furnish him with a list of the names of persons I knew by experience to be generous and public-spirited. I thought it would be unbecoming in me, after their kind compliance with my solicitations, to mark them out to be worried by other beggars, and therefore refused also to give such a list. He then desired I would at least give him my advice. "That I will readily do," said I; "and, in the first place, I advise you to apply to all those whom you know will give something; next, to those whom you are uncertain whether they will give anything or not, and show them the list of those who have given; and, lastly, do not neglect those who you are sure will give nothing, for in some of them you may be mistaken." He laughed and thanked me, and said he would take my advice. He did so, for he asked of everybody, and he obtained a much larger sum than he expected, with which

he erected the capacious and very elegant meeting-house that stands in Arch Street.

Our city, though laid out with a beautiful regularity, the streets large, straight, and crossing each other at right angles, had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpaved, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages ploughed them into a quagmire, so that it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive. I had lived near what was called the Jersey Market, and saw with pain the inhabitants wading in mud while purchasing their provisions. A strip of ground down the middle of that market was at length paved with brick, so that, being once in the market, they had firm footing, but were often over shoes in dirt to get there. By talking and writing on the subject, I was at length instrumental in getting the street paved with stone between the market and the bricked foot pavement, that was on each side next the houses. This, for some time, gave an easy access to the market dry-shod; but the rest of the street not being paved, whenever a carriage came out of the mud upon this pavement, it shook off and left its dirt upon it, and it was soon covered with mire, which was not removed, the city as yet having no scavengers.

After some inquiry, I found a poor, industrious man who was willing to undertake keeping the pavement clean by sweeping it twice a week, carrying off the dirt from before all the neighbors' doors, for the sum of sixpence per month, to be paid by each house. I then wrote and printed a paper setting forth the advantages to the neighborhood that might be obtained by this small expense; the greater ease in keeping our houses clean, so much dirt not being brought in by people's feet; the bene-

fit to the shops by more custom, etc., etc., as buyers could more easily get at them; and by not having, in windy weather, the dust blown in upon their goods, etc., etc. I sent one of these papers to each house, and in a day or two went round to see who would subscribe an agreement to pay these sixpences; it was unanimously signed, and for a time well executed. All the inhabitants of the city were delighted with the cleanliness of the pavement that surrounded the market, it being a convenience to all, and this raised a general desire to have all the streets paved, and made the people more willing to submit to a tax for that purpose.

After some time I drew a bill for paving the city, and brought it into the Assembly. It was just before I went to England, in 1757, and did not pass till I was gone, and then with an alteration in the mode of assessment, which I thought not for the better, but with an additional provision for lighting as well as paving the streets, which was a great improvement. It was by a private person, the late Mr. John Clifton, his giving a sample of the utility of lamps, by placing one at his door, that the people were first impressed with the idea of enlighting all the city. The honor of this public benefit has also been ascribed to me, but it belongs truly to that gentleman. I did but follow his example, and have only some merit to claim respecting the form of our lamps, as differing from the globe lamps we were at first supplied with from London. Those we found inconvenient in these respects: they admitted no air below; the smoke, therefore, did not readily go out above, but circulated in the globe, lodged on its inside, and soon obstructed the light they were intended to afford; giving, besides, the daily trouble of wiping them clean; and an

accidental stroke on one of them would demolish it and render it totally useless. I therefore suggested the composing them of four flat panes, with a long funnel above to draw up the smoke, and crevices admitting air below, to facilitate the ascent of the smoke; by this means they were kept clean, and did not grow dark in a few hours, as the London lamps do, but continued bright till morning, and an accidental stroke would generally break out a single pane, easily repaired.

I have sometimes wondered that the Londoners did not, from the effect holes in the bottom of the globe lamps used at Vauxhall have in keeping them clean, learn to have such holes in their street lamps. But, these holes being made for another purpose, viz., to communicate flame more suddenly to the wick by a little flax hanging down through them, the other use, of letting in air, seems not to have been thought of; and therefore, after the lamps have been lit a few hours, the streets of London are very poorly illuminated.

The mention of these improvements puts me in mind of one I proposed, when in London, to Dr. Fothergill, who was among the best men I have known, and a great promoter of useful projects. I had observed that the streets, when dry, were never swept, and the light dust carried away; but it was suffered to accumulate till wet weather reduced it to mud, and then, after lying some days so deep on the pavement that there was no crossing but in paths kept clean by poor people with brooms, it was with great labor raked together and thrown up into carts open above, the sides of which suffered some of the slush at every jolt on the pavement to shake out and fall, sometimes to the annoyance of foot-passengers. The

reason given for not sweeping the dusty streets was, that the dust would fly into the windows of shops and houses.

An accidental occurrence had instructed me how much sweeping might be done in a little time. I found at my door in Craven Street, one morning, a poor woman sweeping my pavement with a birch broom; she appeared very pale and feeble, as just come out of a fit of sickness. I asked who employed her to sweep there; she said, "Nobody; but I am very poor and in distress, and I sweeps before gentlefolkses doors, and hopes they will give me something." I bid her sweep the whole street clean, and I would give her a shilling; this was at nine o'clock; at twelve she came for the shilling. From the slowness I saw at first in her working I could scarce believe that the work was done so soon, and sent my servant to examine it, who reported that the whole street was swept perfectly clean, and all the dust placed in the gutter, which was in the middle; and the next rain washed it quite away, so that the pavement and even the kennel were perfectly clean.

I then judged that, if that feeble woman could sweep such a street in three hours, a strong, active man might have done it in half the time. And here let me remark the convenience of having but one gutter in such a narrow street, running down its middle, instead of two, one on each side, near the footway; for where all the rain that falls on a street runs from the sides and meets in the middle, it forms there a current strong enough to wash away all the mud it meets with; but when divided into two channels, it is often too weak to cleanse either, and only makes the mud it finds more fluid, so that the wheels of carriages and feet of horses throw and dash it upon the foot-pavement, which is thereby rendered foul and slippery, and some-

times splash it upon those who are walking. My proposal, communicated to the good doctor, was as follows:

"For the more effectual cleaning and keeping clean the streets of London and Westminster, it is proposed that the several watchmen be contracted with to have the dust swept up in dry seasons, and the mud raked up at other times, each in the several streets and lanes of his round; that they be furnished with brooms and other proper instruments for these purposes, to be kept at their respective stands, ready to furnish the poor people they may employ in the service.

"That in the dry summer months the dust be all swept up into heaps at proper distances, before the shops and windows of houses are usually opened, when the scavengers, with close-covered carts, shall also carry it all away.

"That the mud, when raked up, be not left in heaps to be spread abroad again by the wheels of carriages and trampling of horses, but that the scavengers be provided with bodies of carts, not placed high upon wheels, but low upon sliders with lattice bottoms, which, being covered with straw, will retain the mud thrown into them, and permit the water to drain from it, whereby it will become much lighter, water making the greatest part of its weight; these bodies of carts to be placed at convenient distances, and the mud brought to them in wheelbarrows; they remaining where placed till the mud is drained, and then horses brought to draw them away."

I have since had doubts of the practicability of the latter part of this proposal, on account of the narrowness of some streets, and the difficulty of placing the drainingsleds so as not to encumber too much the passage; but I am still of opinion that the former, requiring the dust to

be swept up and carried away before the shops are open, is very practicable in the summer, when the days are long; for, in walking through the Strand and Fleet Street one morning at seven o'clock, I observed there was not one shop open, though it had been daylight and the sun up above three hours; the inhabitants of London choosing voluntarily to live much by candle-light, and sleep by sunshine.

Some may think these trifling matters not worth minding or relating; but when they consider that though dust blown into the eyes of a single person, or into a single shop on a windy day, is but of small importance, yet the great number of the instances in a populous city, and its frequent repetitions give it weight and consequence, perhaps they will not censure very severely those who bestow some attention to affairs of this seemingly low nature. Human felicity is produced not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day. Thus, if you teach a poor young man to shave himself, and keep his razor in order, you may contribute more to the happiness of his life than in giving him a thousand guineas. The money may be soon spent, the regret only remaining of having foolishly consumed it; but in the other case, he escapes the frequent vexation of waiting for barbers, and of their sometimes dirty fingers, offensive breaths, and dull razors; he shaves when most convenient to him, and enjoys daily the pleasure of its being done with a good instrument. With these sentiments I have hazarded the few preceding pages, hoping they may afford hints which some time or other may be useful to a city I love, having lived many years in it very happily, and perhaps to some of our towns in America.

CHAPTER XV

FRANKLIN AND COLONIAL UNION

HAVING been for some time employed by the postmaster-general of America as his comptroller in regulating several offices, and bringing the officers to account, I was, upon his death in 1753, appointed, jointly with Mr. William Hunter, to succeed him, by a commission from the post-master-general in England. The American office never had hitherto paid anything to that of Britain. We were to have six hundred pounds a year between us, if we could make that sum out of the profits of the office. To do this a variety of improvements were necessary; some of these were inevitably at first expensive, so that in the first four years the office became above nine hundred pounds in debt to us. But it soon after began to repay us; and before I was displaced by a freak of the ministers, of which I shall speak hereafter, we had brought it to yield three times as much clear revenue to the crown as the post-office of Ireland. Since that imprudent transaction, they have received from it — not one farthing!

The business of the post-office occasioned my taking a journey this year to New England, where the College of Cambridge, of their own motion, presented me with the degree of Master of Arts. Yale College, in Connecticut, had before made me a similar compliment. Thus, without studying in any college, I came to partake of their honors. They were conferred in consideration of my

improvements and discoveries in the electric branch of natural philosophy.

In 1754, war with France being again apprehended, a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was, by an order of the Lords of Trade, to be assembled at Albany, there to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations concerning the means of defending both their country and ours. Governor Hamilton, having received this order, acquainted the House with it, requesting they would furnish proper presents for the Indians, to be given on this occasion; and naming the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself to join Mr. Thomas Penn and Mr. Secretary Peters as commissioners to act for Pennsylvania. The House approved the nomination, and provided the goods for the present, though they did not much like treating out of the provinces; and we met the other commissioners at Albany about the middle of June.

Franklin's Emblem of Colonial Union

See the note on line 21.

In our way thither, I projected and drew a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defence and other important general purposes. As we passed through New York, I had there shown my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen of great knowledge in public affairs, and, being fortified by their approbation, I ventured to lay it before the Congress. It then appeared that several of the commissioners had formed plans of the same kind. A previous question was first taken, whether a

union should be established, which passed in the affirmative unanimously. A committee was then appointed, one member from each colony, to consider the several plans, and report. Mine happened to be preferred, and, with a few amendments, was accordingly reported.

By this plan the general government was to be administered by a president-general, appointed and supported by the crown, and a grand council was to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, met in their respective assemblies. The debates upon it in Congress went on daily, hand in hand with the Indian business. Many objections and difficulties were started, but at length they were all overcome, and the plan was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be transmitted to the Board of Trade and to the assemblies of the several provinces. Its fate was singular: the assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too much prerogative in it, and in England it was judged to have too much of the democratic. The Board of Trade therefore did not approve of it, nor recommend it for the approbation of his majesty; but another scheme was formed, supposed to answer the same purpose better, whereby the governors of the provinces, with some members of their respective councils, were to meet and order the raising of troops, building of forts, etc., and to draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the expense, which was afterwards to be refunded by an act of Parliament laying a tax on America. My plan, with my reasons in support of it, is to be found among my political papers that are printed.

Being the winter following in Boston, I had much conversation with Governor Shirley upon both the plans. Part of what passed between us on the occasion may also

be seen among those papers. The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan make me suspect that it was really the true medium; and I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides the water if it had been adopted. The colonies, so united, would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves; there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course, the subsequent pretence for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new: history is full of the errors of states and princes.

> Look round the habitable world, how few
> Know their own good, or, knowing it, pursue!

Those who govern, having much business on their hands, do not generally like to take the trouble of considering and carrying into execution new projects. The best public measures are therefore seldom adopted from previous wisdom, but forced by the occasion.

The Governor of Pennsylvania, in sending it down to the Assembly, expressed his approbation of the plan, "as appearing to him to be drawn up with great clearness and strength of judgment, and therefore recommended it as well worthy of their closest and most serious attention." The House, however, by the management of a certain member, took it up when I happened to be absent, which I thought not very fair, and reprobated it without paying any attention to it at all, to my no small mortification.

In my journey to Boston this year, I met at New York with our new governor, Mr. Morris, just arrived there from England, with whom I had been before intimately acquainted. He brought a commission to supersede Mr.

Hamilton, who, tired with the disputes his proprietary instructions subjected him to, had resigned. Mr. Morris asked me if I thought he must expect as uncomfortable an administration. I said, "No; you may, on the contrary, have a very comfortable one, if you will only take care not to enter into any dispute with the Assembly." "My dear friend," says he, pleasantly, "how can you advise my avoiding disputes? You know I love disputing; it is one of my greatest pleasures; however, to show the regard I have for your counsel, I promise you I will, if possible, avoid them." He had some reason for loving to dispute, being eloquent, an acute sophister, and therefore generally successful in argumentative conversation. He had been brought up to it from a boy, his father, as I have heard, accustoming his children to dispute with one another for his diversion, while sitting at table after dinner; but I think the practice was not wise; for, in the course of my observation, these disputing, contradicting, and confuting people are generally unfortunate in their affairs. They get victory sometimes, but they never get good will, which would be of more use to them. We parted, he going to Philadelphia, and I to Boston.

In returning, I met at New York with the votes of the Assembly, by which it appeared that, notwithstanding his promise to me, he and the House were already in high contention; and it was a continual battle between them as long as he retained the government. I had my share of it; for, as soon as I got back to my seat in the Assembly, I was put on every committee for answering his speeches and messages, and by the committees always desired to make the drafts. Our answers, as well as his messages, were often tart, and sometimes indecently abusive; and as he

knew I wrote for the Assembly, one might have imagined that, when we met, we could hardly avoid cutting throats; but he was so good-natured a man that no personal difference between him and me was occasioned by the contest, and we often dined together.

One afternoon, in the height of this public quarrel, we met in the street. "Franklin," says he, "you must go home with me and spend the evening; I am to have some company that you will like"; and taking me by the arm, he led me to his house. In gay conversation over our wine, after supper, he told us jokingly that he much admired the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him a government, requested it might be a government of blacks, as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them. One of his friends, who sat next to me, says, "Franklin, why do you continue to side with these damned Quakers? Had you not better sell them? The proprietor would give a good price." "The governor," says I, "has not yet blacked them enough." He, indeed, had labored hard to blacken the Assembly in all his messages, but they wiped off his coloring as fast as he laid it on, and placed it, in return, thick upon his own face; so that, finding he was likely to be negrofied himself, he, as well as Mr. Hamilton, grew tired of the contest, and quitted the government.

These public quarrels were all at bottom owing to the proprietaries, our hereditary governors, who, when any expense was to be incurred for the defence of their province, with incredible meanness instructed their deputies to pass no act for levying the necessary taxes, unless their vast estates were in the same act expressly excused; and they had even taken bonds of these deputies to observe

such instructions. The Assemblies for three years held out against this injustice, though constrained to bend at last. At length Captain Denny, who was Governor Morris's successor, ventured to disobey those instructions: how that was brought about I shall show hereafter.

But I am got forward too fast with my story: there are still some transactions to be mentioned that happened during the administration of Governor Morris.

War being in a manner commenced with France, the government of Massachusetts Bay projected an attack upon Crown Point, and sent Mr. Quincy to Pennsylvania, and Mr. Pownall, afterward Governor Pownall, to New York, to solicit assistance. As I was in the Assembly, knew its temper, and was Mr. Quincy's countryman, he applied to me for my influence and assistance. I dictated his address to them, which was well received. They voted an aid of ten thousand pounds, to be laid out in provisions. But the governor refusing his assent to their bill (which included this with other sums granted for the use of the crown), unless a clause were inserted exempting the proprietary estate from bearing any part of the tax that would be necessary, the Assembly, though very desirous of making their grant to New England effectual, were at a loss how to accomplish it. Mr. Quincy labored hard with the governor to obtain his assent, but he was obstinate.

I then suggested a method of doing the business without a governor, by orders on the trustees of the Loan Office, which, by law, the Assembly had the right of drawing. There was, indeed, little or no money at that time in the office, and therefore I proposed that the orders should be payable in a year, and to bear an interest of five per cent. With these orders I supposed the provisions might easily

be purchased. The Assembly, with very little hesitation, adopted the proposal. The orders were immediately printed, and I was one of the committee directed to sign and dispose of them. The fund for paying them was the interest of all the paper currency then extant in the province upon loan, together with the revenue arising from the excise, which being known to be more than sufficient, they obtained instant credit, and were not only received in payment for the provisions, but many moneyed people, who had cash lying by them, vested it in those orders, which they found advantageous, as they bore interest while upon hand, and might on any occasion be used as money, so that they were eagerly all bought up, and in a few weeks none of them were to be seen. Thus this important affair was by my means completed. Mr. Quincy returned thanks to the Assembly in a handsome memorial, went home highly pleased with the success of his embassy, and ever after bore for me the most cordial and affectionate friendship.

CHAPTER XVI

HELPING GENERAL BRADDOCK

The British government, not choosing to permit the union of the colonies as proposed at Albany, and to trust that union with their defence, lest they should thereby grow too military and feel their own strength, suspicions and jealousies at this time being entertained of them, sent over General Braddock with two regiments of regular English troops for that purpose. He landed at Alexandria, in Virginia, and thence marched to Fredericktown, in Maryland, where he halted for carriages. Our Assembly apprehending, from some information, that he had conceived violent prejudices against them, as averse to the service, wished me to wait upon him, not as from them, but as postmaster-general, under the guise of proposing to settle with him the mode of conducting with most celerity and certainty the dispatches between him and the governors of the several provinces, with whom he must necessarily have continual correspondence, and of which they proposed to pay the expense. My son accompanied me on this journey.

We found the general at Fredericktown, waiting impatiently for the return of those he had sent through the back parts of Maryland and Virginia to collect wagons. I stayed with him several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunity of removing all his prejudices, by the information of what the Assembly had before his arrival

actually done, and were still willing to do, to facilitate his operations. When I was about to depart, the returns of wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all of those were in serviceable condition. The general and all the officers were surprised, declared the expedition was then at an end, being impossible, and exclaimed against the ministers for ignorantly landing them in a country destitute of the means of conveying their stores, baggage, etc., not less than one hundred and fifty wagons being necessary.

I happened to say I thought it was a pity they had not been landed rather in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. The general eagerly laid hold of my words, and said, "Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us; and I beg you will undertake it." I asked what terms were to be offered the owners of the wagons; and I was desired to put on paper the terms that appeared to me necessary. This I did, and they were agreed to, and a commission and instructions accordingly prepared immediately. What those terms were will appear in the advertisement I published as soon as I arrived at Lancaster, which being, from the great and sudden effect it produced, a piece of some curiosity, I shall insert it at length, as follows:

ADVERTISEMENT

Lancaster, April 26, 1755

Whereas, one hundred and fifty wagons, with four horses to each wagon, and fifteen hundred saddle or pack horses, are wanted for the service of his majesty's forces now about to rendezvous at Will's Creek, and his excellency General Braddock having been pleased to empower me to contract for the hire of the same, I hereby give notice

that I shall attend for that purpose at Lancaster from this day to next Wednesday evening, and at York from next Thursday morning till Friday evening, where I shall be ready to agree for wagons and teams, or single horses, on the following terms, viz.: 1. That there shall be paid for each wagon, with four good horses and a driver, fifteen shillings per diem; and for each able horse with a pack-saddle or other saddle and furniture, two shillings per diem; and for each able horse without a saddle, eighteen pence per diem. 2. That the pay commence from the time of their joining the forces at Will's Creek, which must be on or before the 20th of May ensuing, and that a reasonable allowance be paid over and above for the time necessary for their travelling to Will's Creek and home again after their discharge. 3. Each wagon and team, and every saddle or pack horse, is to be valued by indifferent persons chosen between me and the owner; and in case of the loss of any wagon, team, or other horse in the service, the price according to such valuation is to be allowed and paid. 4. Seven days' pay is to be advanced and paid in hand by me to the owner of each wagon and team or horse, at the time of contracting, if required, and the remainder to be paid by General Braddock, or by the paymaster of the army, at the time of their discharge, or from time to time, as it shall be demanded. 5. No drivers of wagons, or persons taking care of the hired horses, are on any account to be called upon to do the duty of soldiers, or be otherwise employed than in conducting or taking care of their carriages or horses. 6. All oats, Indian corn, or other forage that wagons or horses bring to the camp, more than is necessary for the subsistence of the horses, is to be taken for the use of the army, and a reasonable price paid for the same.

Note. — My son, William Franklin, is empowered to enter into like contracts with any person in Cumberland county.

B. Franklin

To the Inhabitants of the Counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland

Friends and Countrymen:

Being occasionally at the camp at Frederick a few days since, I found the general and officers extremely exasperated on account of their not being supplied with horses and carriages, which had been expected from this province, as most able to furnish them; but,

through the dissensions between our governor and Assembly, money had not been provided, nor any steps taken for that purpose.

It was proposed to send an armed force immediately into these counties to seize as many of the best carriages and horses as should be wanted, and compel as many persons into the service as would be necessary to drive and take care of them.

I apprehended that the progress of British soldiers through these counties on such an occasion, especially considering the temper they are in, and their resentment against us, would be attended with many and great inconveniences to the inhabitants, and therefore more willingly took the trouble of trying first what might be done by fair and equitable means. The people of these back counties have lately complained to the Assembly that a sufficient currency was wanting; you have an opportunity of receiving and dividing among you a very considerable sum; for, if the service of this expedition should continue, as it is more than probable it will, for one hundred and twenty days, the hire of these wagons and horses will amount to upward of thirty thousand pounds, which will be paid you in silver and gold of the king's money.

The service will be light and easy, for the army will scarce march above twelve miles per day, and the wagons and baggage-horses, as they carry those things that are absolutely necessary to the welfare of the army, must march with the army, and no faster; and are, for the army's sake, always placed where they can be most secure, whether in a march or in a camp.

If you are really, as I believe you are, good and loyal subjects to his majesty, you may now do a most acceptable service, and make it easy to yourselves; for three or four of such as can not separately spare from the business of their plantations a wagon and four horses and a driver, may do it together, one furnishing the wagon, another one or two horses, and another the driver, and divide the pay proportionably between you; but if you do not this service to your king and country voluntarily, when such good pay and reasonable terms are offered to you, your loyalty will be strongly suspected. The king's business must be done; so many brave troops, come so far for your defence, must not stand idle through your backwardness to do what may be reasonably expected from you; wagons and horses must be had; violent measures will probably be used, and you will be left

to seek for a recompense where you can find it, and your case, perhaps, be little pitied or regarded.

I have no particular interest in this affair, as, except the satisfaction of endeavoring to do good, I shall have only my labor for my pains. If this method of obtaining the wagons and horses is not likely to succeed, I am obliged to send word to the general in fourteen days; and I suppose Sir John St. Clair, the hussar, with a body of soldiers, will immediately enter the province for the purpose, which I shall be sorry to hear, because I am very sincerely and truly your friend and well-wisher,

B. Franklin

I received of the general about eight hundred pounds, to be disbursed in advance-money to the wagon owners, etc.; but that sum being insufficient, I advanced upward of two hundred pounds more, and in two weeks the one hundred and fifty wagons, with two hundred and fifty-nine carrying horses, were on their march for the camp. The advertisement promised payment according to the valuation, in case any wagon or horse should be lost. The owners, however, alleging they did not know General Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance, which I accordingly gave them.

While I was at the camp, supping one evening with the officers of Colonel Dunbar's regiment, he represented to me his concern for the subalterns, who, he said, were generally not in affluence, and could ill afford, in this dear country, to lay in the stores that might be necessary in so long a march, through a wilderness, where nothing was to be purchased. I commiserated their case, and resolved to endeavor procuring them some relief. I said nothing, however, to him of my intention, but wrote the next morning to the committee of the Assembly, who had the disposi-

tion of some public money, warmly recommending the case of these officers to their consideration, and proposing that a present should be sent them of necessaries and refreshments. My son, who had some experience of a camp life, and of its wants, drew up a list for me, which I enclosed in my letter. The committee approved, and used such diligence that, conducted by my son, the stores arrived at the camp as soon as the wagons. They consisted of twenty parcels, each containing:

6 lbs. loaf sugar.
6 lbs. good Muscovado do.
1 lb. good green tea.
1 lb. good bohea do.
6 lbs. good ground coffee.
6 lbs. chocolate.
1-2 cwt. best white biscuit.
1-2 lb. pepper.
1 quart best white wine vinegar.
1 Gloucester cheese.
1 keg containing 20 lbs. good butter.
2 doz. old Madeira wine.
2 gallons Jamaica spirits.
1 bottle flour of mustard.
2 well-cured hams.
1-2 dozen dried tongues.
6 lbs. rice.
6 lbs. raisins.

These twenty parcels, well packed, were placed on as many horses, each parcel, with the horse, being intended as a present for one officer. They were very thankfully received, and the kindness acknowledged by letters to me from the colonels of both regiments, in the most grateful terms. The general, too, was highly satisfied with my conduct in procuring him the wagons, etc., and readily paid my account of disbursements, thanking me repeatedly, and requesting my farther assistance in sending provisions after him. I undertook this also, and was busily employed in it till we heard of his defeat, advancing for the service of my own money upwards of one thousand pounds sterling, of which I sent him an account. It came to his hands, luckily for me, a few days before the battle, and he

returned me immediately an order on the paymaster for the round sum of one thousand pounds, leaving the remainder to the next account. I consider this payment as good luck, having never been able to obtain that remainder, of which more hereafter.

This general was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides, scouts, etc., if he had treated them kindly; but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him.

In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. "After taking Fort Duquesne," says he, "I am to proceed to Niagara; and, having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time; and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Iroquois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, "To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, that place not yet completely fortified, and as we hear with no very strong garrison, can probably

make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, can not come up in time to support each other."

He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, "These savages may, indeed, be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more. The enemy, however, did not take the advantage of his army which I apprehended its long line of march exposed it to, but let it advance without interruption till within nine miles of the place; and then, when more in a body (for it had just passed a river, where the front had halted till all were come over), and in a more open part of the woods than any it had passed, attacked its advanced guard by a heavy fire from behind trees and bushes, which was the first intelligence the general had of an enemy's being near him. This guard being disordered, the general hurried the troops up to their assistance, which was done in great confusion, through wagons, baggage, and cattle; and presently the fire came upon their flank: the officers, being on horseback, were more easily distinguished, picked out as marks, and fell very fast; and the soldiers were crowded together in a huddle, having or hearing no orders, and standing to be shot at till two-thirds of them were

killed; and then, being seized with a panic, the whole fled with precipitation.

The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and scampered; their example was immediately followed by others; so that all the wagons, provisions, artillery, and stores were left to the enemy. The general, being wounded, was brought off with difficulty; his secretary, Mr. Shirley, was killed by his side; and out of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or wounded, and seven hundred and fourteen men killed out of eleven hundred. These eleven hundred had been picked men from the whole army; the rest had been left behind with Colonel Dunbar, who was to follow with the heavier part of the stores, provisions, and baggage. The flyers, not being pursued, arrived at Dunbar's camp, and the panic they brought with them instantly seized him and all his people; and, though he had now above one thousand men, and the enemy who had beaten Braddock did not at most exceed four hundred Indians and French together, instead of proceeding, and endeavoring to recover some of the lost honor, he ordered all the stores, ammunition, etc., to be destroyed, that he might have more horses to assist his flight towards the settlements, and less lumber to remove. He was there met with requests from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, that he would post his troops on the frontiers, so as to afford some protection to the inhabitants; but he continued his hasty march through all the country, not thinking himself safe till he arrived at Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him. This whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regulars had not been well founded.

In their first march, too, from their landing till they got beyond the settlements, they had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing, and confining the people if they remonstrated. This was enough to put us out of conceit of such defenders, if we had really wanted any. How different was the conduct of our French friends in 1781, who, during a march through the most inhabited part of our country from Rhode Island to Virginia, near seven hundred miles, occasioned not the smallest complaint for the loss of a pig, a chicken, or even an apple.

Captain Orme, who was one of the general's aides-de-camp, and, being grievously wounded, was brought off with him, and continued with him to his death, which happened in a few days, told me that he was totally silent all day, and at night only said, "Who would have thought it?" That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time," and died in a few minutes after.

The secretary's papers, with all the general's orders, instructions, and correspondence, falling into the enemy's hands, they selected and translated into French a number of the articles, which they printed, to prove the hostile intentions of the British court before the declaration of war. Among these I saw some letters of the general to the ministry, speaking highly of the great service I had rendered the army, and recommending me to their notice. David Hume, too, who was some years after secretary to Lord Hertford, when minister in France, and afterward to General Conway, when secretary of state, told me he had seen among the papers in that office, letters from Braddock highly recommending me. But the expedition

having been unfortunate, my service, it seems, was not thought of much value, for those recommendations were never of any use to me.

As to rewards from himself, I asked only one, which was that he would give orders to his officers not to enlist any more of our bought servants, and that he would discharge such as had been already enlisted. This he readily granted, and several were accordingly returned to their masters, on my application. Dunbar, when the command devolved on him, was not so generous. He being at Philadelphia, on his retreat or rather flight, I applied to him for the discharge of the servants of three poor farmers of Lancaster county that he had enlisted, reminding him of the late general's orders on that head. He promised me that if the masters would come to him at Trenton, where he should be in a few days on his march to New York, he would there deliver their men to them. They accordingly were at the expense and trouble of going to Trenton, and there he refused to perform his promise, to their great loss and disappointment.

As soon as the loss of the wagons and horses was generally known, all the owners came upon me for the valuation which I had given bond to pay. Their demands gave me a great deal of trouble, my acquainting them that the money was ready in the paymaster's hands, but that orders for paying it must first be obtained from General Shirley, and my assuring them that I had applied to that general by letter, but he being at a distance, an answer could not soon be received, and they must have patience; all this was not sufficient to satisfy, and some began to sue me. General Shirley at length relieved me from this terrible situation by appointing commissioners to examine the

claims, and ordering payment. They amounted to near twenty thousand pound, which to pay would have ruined me.

Before we had the news of this defeat, the two Doctors Bond came to me with a subscription paper for raising money to defray the expense of a grand firework which it was intended to exhibit at a rejoicing on receipt of the news of our taking Fort Duquesne. I looked grave, and said it would, I thought, be time enough to prepare for the rejoicing when we knew we should have occasion to rejoice. They seemed surprised that I did not immediately comply with their proposal. "Why!" says one of them, "you surely don't suppose that the fort will not be taken?" "I don't know that it will not be taken, but I know that the events of war are subject to great uncertainty." I gave them the reasons of my doubting; the subscription was dropped, and the projectors thereby missed the mortification they would have undergone if the firework had been prepared. Dr. Bond, on some other occasion afterward, said that he did not like Franklin's forebodings.

CHAPTER XVII

FRANKLIN THE SOLDIER

Governor Morris, who had continually worried the Assembly with message after message before the defeat of Braddock, to beat them into the making of acts to raise money for the defence of the province without taxing, among others, the proprietary estates, and had rejected all their bills for not having such an exempting clause, now redoubled his attacks with more hope of success, the danger and necessity being greater. The Assembly, however, continued firm, believing they had justice on their side, and that it would be giving up an essential right if they suffered the governor to amend their money-bills. In one of the last, indeed, which was for granting fifty thousand pounds, his proposed amendment was only of a single word. The bill expressed "that all estates, real and personal, were to be taxed, those of the proprietaries not excepted." His amendment was, for "not" read "only": a small but very material alteration. However, when the news of this disaster reached England, our friends there, whom we had taken care to furnish with all the Assembly's answers to the governor's messages, raised a clamor against the proprietaries for their meanness and injustice in giving their governor such instructions; some going so far as to say that by obstructing the defence of their province they forfeited their right to it. They were intimi-

dated by this, and sent orders to their receiver-general to add five thousand pounds of their money to whatever sum might be given by the Assembly for such purpose.

This, being notified to the House, was accepted in lieu of their share of a general tax, and a new bill was formed, with an exempting clause, which passed accordingly. By this act I was appointed one of the commissioners for disposing of the money, sixty thousand pounds. I had been active in modelling the bill and procuring its passage, and had, at the same time, drawn a bill for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia, which I carried through the House without much difficulty, as care was taken in it to leave the Quakers at their liberty. To promote the association necessary to form the militia, I wrote a dialogue, stating and answering all the objections I could think of to such a militia, which was printed, and had, as I thought, great effect.

While the several companies in the city and country were forming, and learning their exercise, the governor prevailed with me to take charge of our Northwestern frontier, which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defence of the inhabitants by raising troops and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, though I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission with full powers, and a parcel of blank commissions for officers, to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. My son, who had in the preceding war been an officer in the army raised against Canada, was my aide-de-camp, and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Gnadenhut, a village settled by the Moravians, and mas-

sacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good situation for one of the forts.

In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of those people. I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defence; the destruction of Gnadenhut had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade. They had purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition from New York, and had even placed quantities of small paving stones between the windows of their high stone houses for their women to throw down upon the heads of any Indians that should attempt to force into them. The armed brethren, too, kept watch, and relieved as methodically as any garrison town. In conversation with the bishop, Spangenberg, I mentioned this my surprise; for, knowing they had obtained an act of Parliament exempting them from military duties in the colonies, I had supposed they were conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. He answered me that it was not one of their established principles, but that, at the time of their obtaining that act, it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they, to their surprise, found it adopted by but a few. It seems they were either deceived in themselves or deceived the Parliament; but common sense, aided by present danger, will sometimes be too strong for whimsical opinions.

It was the beginning of January when we set out upon this business of building forts. I sent one detachment toward the Minisink, with instructions to erect one for the security of that upper part of the country, and another to the lower part, with similar instructions; and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my force to Gnadenhut, where

a fort was thought more immediately necessary. The Moravians procured me five wagons for our tools, stores, baggage, etc.

Just before we left Bethlehem, eleven farmers, who had been driven from their plantations by the Indians, came to me requesting a supply of firearms, that they might go back and fetch off their cattle. I gave them each a gun with suitable ammunition. We had not marched many miles before it began to rain, and it continued raining all day; there were no habitations on the road to shelter us till we arrived near night at the house of a German, where, and in his barn, we were all huddled together, as wet as water could make us. It was well we were not attacked in our march, for our arms were of the most ordinary sort, and our men could not keep their gunlocks dry. The Indians are dexterous in contrivances for that purpose, which we had not. They met that day the eleven poor farmers above mentioned, and killed ten of them. The one who escaped informed us that his and his companions' guns would not go off, the priming being wet with the rain.

The next day being fair, we continued our march and arrived at the desolated Gnadenhut. There was a saw-mill near, round which were left several piles of boards, with which we soon hutted ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season as we had no tents. Our first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there, who had been half interred by the country people.

The next morning our fort was planned and marked out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made

of trees, one with another, of a foot diameter each. Our axes, of which we had seventy, were immediately set to work to cut down trees, and, our men being dexterous in the use of them, great dispatch was made. Seeing the trees fall so fast, I had the curiosity to look at my watch when two men began to cut at a pine; in six minutes they had it upon the ground, and I found it of fourteen inches diameter. Each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. While these were preparing, our other men dug a trench all round, of three feet deep, in which the palisades were to be planted; and our wagons, the bodies being taken off, and the fore and hind wheels separated by taking out the pin which united the two parts of the perch, we had ten carriages, with two horses each, to bring the palisades from the woods to the spot. When they were set up, our carpenters built a stage of boards all round within, about six feet high, for the men to stand on when to fire through the loopholes. We had one swivel gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it as soon as fixed, to let the Indians know, if any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort, if such a magnificent name may be given to so miserable a stockade, was finished in a week, though it rained so hard every other day that the men could not work.

This gave me occasion to observe that when men are employed they are best contented; for on the days they worked they were good-natured and cheerful, and, with the consciousness of having done a good day's work, they spent the evening jollily; but on our idle days they were mutinous and quarrelsome, finding fault with their pork, the bread, etc., and in continual ill-humor, which put me

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FRANKLIN BUILDING FORT ALLEN

in mind of a sea-captain, whose rule it was to keep his men constantly at work; and when his mate once told him that they had done everything, and there was nothing further to employ them about, "Oh," says he, "make them scour the anchor."

This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defence against Indians, who have no cannon. Finding ourselves now posted securely, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventured out in parties to scour the adjacent country. We met with no Indians, but we found the places on the neighboring hills where they had lain to watch our proceedings. There was an art in their contrivance of those places that seems worth mention. It being winter, a fire was necessary for them; but a common fire on the surface of the ground would by its light have discovered their position at a distance. They had therefore dug holes in the ground about three feet in diameter and somewhat deeper. We saw where they had with their hatchets cut off the charcoal from the sides of burnt logs lying in the woods. With these coals they had made small fires in the bottom of the holes, and we observed among the weeds and grass the prints of their bodies, made by their lying all round, with their legs hanging down in the holes to keep their feet warm, which with them is an essential point. This kind of fire, so managed, could not discover them, either by its light, flame, sparks, or even smoke: it appeared that their number was not great, and it seems they saw we were too many to be attacked by them with prospect of advantage.

We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When

they enlisted, they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually served out to them, half in the morning and the other half in the evening; and I observed they were as punctual in attending to receive it; upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, "It is, perhaps, below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were to deal it out and only just after prayers, you would have them all about you." He liked the thought, undertook the office, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction, and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended; so that I thought this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service.

I had hardly finished this business, and got my fort well stored with provisions, when I received a letter from the governor, acquainting me that he had called the Assembly, and wished my attendance there, if the posture of affairs on the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary. My friends, too, of the Assembly, pressing me by their letters to be, if possible, at the meeting, and my three intended forts being now completed, and the inhabitants contented to remain on their farms under that protection, I resolved to return; the more willingly, as a New England officer, Colonel Clapham, experienced in Indian war, being on a visit to our establishment, consented to accept the command. I gave him a commission, and, parading the garrison, had it read before them, and introduced him to them as an officer who, from his skill in military affairs, was much more fit to command them than myself; and, giving them a little exhortation, took my leave. I was escorted as far as Bethlehem, where

I rested a few days to recover from the fatigue I had undergone. The first night, being in a good bed, I could hardly sleep, it was so different from my hard lodging on the floor of our hut at Gnaden, wrapped only in a blanket or two.

While at Bethlehem, I inquired a little into the practice of the Moravians: some of them had accompanied me, and all were very kind to me. I found they worked for a common stock, ate at common tables, and slept in common dormitories, great numbers together. In the dormitories I observed loopholes, at certain distances all along just under the ceiling, which I thought judiciously placed for change of air. I was at their church, where I was entertained with good music, the organ being accompanied with violins, hautboys, flutes, clarinets, etc. I understood that their sermons were not usually preached to mixed congregations of men, women, and children, as is our common practice, but that they assembled sometimes the married men, at other times their wives, then the young men, the young women, and the little children, each division by itself. The sermon I heard was to the latter, who came in and were placed in rows on benches; the boys under the conduct of a young man, their tutor, and the girls conducted by a young woman. The discourse seemed well adapted to their capacities, and was delivered in a pleasing, familiar manner, coaxing them, as it were, to be good. They behaved very orderly, but looked pale and unhealthy, which made me suspect they were kept too much within doors, or not allowed sufficient exercise.

I inquired concerning the Moravian marriages, whether the report was true that they were by lot. I was told that lots were used only in particular cases; that generally,

when a young man found himself disposed to marry, he informed the elders of his class, who consulted the elder ladies that governed the young women. As these elders of the different sexes were well acquainted with the tempers and dispositions of their respective pupils, they could best judge what matches were suitable, and their judgments were generally acquiesced in; but if, for example, it should happen that two or three young women were found to be equally proper for the young man, the lot was then recurred to. I objected, if the matches are not made by the mutual choice of parties, some of them may chance to be very unhappy. "And so they may," answered my informer, "if you let the parties choose for themselves"; which, indeed, I could not deny.

Being returned to Philadelphia, I found the association went on swimmingly, the inhabitants that were not Quakers having pretty generally come into it, formed themselves into companies, and chose their captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, according to the new law. Dr. B. visited me, and gave me an account of the pains he had taken to spread a general good liking to the law, and ascribed much to those endeavors. I had had the vanity to ascribe all to my *Dialogue;* however, not knowing but that he might be in the right, I let him enjoy his opinion, which I take to be generally the best way in such cases. The officers, meeting, chose me to be colonel of the regiment, which I this time accepted. I forget how many companies we had, but we paraded about twelve hundred well-looking men, with a company of artillery, who had been furnished with six brass field-pieces, which they had become so expert in the use of as to fire twelve times in a minute. The first time I reviewed my regiment they accompanied me to my

house, and would salute me with some rounds fired before my door, which shook down and broke several glasses of my electrical apparatus. And my new honor proved not much less brittle; for all our commissions were soon after broken by a repeal of the law in England.

During this short time of my colonelship, being about to set out on a journey to Virginia, the officers of my regiment took it into their heads that it would be proper for

Harper & Brothers

"The officers of my regiment took it into their heads to escort me out of town."

them to escort me out of town, as far as the Lower Ferry. Just as I was getting on horseback they came to my door, between thirty and forty, mounted, and all in their uniforms. I had not been previously acquainted with the project, or I should have prevented it, being naturally averse to the assuming of state on any occasion; and I was a good deal chagrined at their appearance, as I could not avoid their accompanying me. What made it worse

was, that, as soon as we began to move, they drew their swords and rode with them naked all the way. Somebody wrote an account of this to the proprietor, and it gave him great offence. No such honor had been paid him when in the province, nor to any of his governors; and he said it was only proper to princes of the blood royal, which may be true for aught I know, who was, and still am, ignorant of the etiquette in such cases.

This silly affair, however, greatly increased his rancor against me, which was before not a little, on account of my conduct in the Assembly respecting the exemption of his estate from taxation, which I had always opposed very warmly, and not without severe reflections on his meanness and injustice of contending for it. He accused me to the ministry as being the great obstacle to the king's service, preventing, by my influence in the House, the proper form of the bills for raising money, and he instanced this parade with my officers as a proof of my having an intention to take the government of the province out of his hands by force. He also applied to Sir Everard Fawkener, the postmaster-general, to deprive me of my office; but it had no other effect than to procure from Sir Everard a gentle admonition.

Notwithstanding the continual wrangle between the governor and the House, in which I, as a member, had so large a share, there still subsisted a civil intercourse between that gentleman and myself, and we never had any personal difference. I have sometimes since thought that his little or no resentment against me, for the answers it was known I drew up to his messages, might be the effect of professional habit, and that, being bred a lawyer, he might consider us both as merely advocates for contending

clients in a suit, he for the proprietaries and I for the Assembly. He would, therefore, sometimes call in a friendly way to advise with me on difficult points, and sometimes, though not often, take my advice.

We acted in concert to supply Braddock's army with provisions; and when the shocking news arrived of his defeat, the governor sent in haste for me to consult with him on measures for preventing the desertion of the back counties. I forget now the advice I gave; but I think it was that Dunbar should be written to, and prevailed with, if possible, to post his troops on the frontiers for their protection, till, by re-enforcements from the colonies, he might be able to proceed on the expedition. And, after my return from the frontier, he would have had me undertake the conduct of such an expedition with provincial troops, for the reduction of Fort Duquesne, Dunbar and his men being otherwise employed; and he proposed to commission me as general. I had not so good an opinion of my military abilities as he professed to have, and I believe his professions must have exceeded his real sentiments; but probably he might think that my popularity would facilitate the raising of the men, and my influence in Assembly, the grant of money to pay them, and that, perhaps, without taxing the proprietary estate. Finding me not so forward to engage as he expected, the project was dropped, and he soon after left the government, being superseded by Captain Denny.

Before I proceed in relating the part I had in public affairs under this new governor's administration, it may not be amiss here to give some account of the rise and progress of my philosophical reputation.

CHAPTER XVIII

FRANKLIN'S ELECTRICAL EXPERIMENTS

In 1746, being at Boston, I met there with a Dr. Spence, who was lately arrived from Scotland, and showed me some electric experiments. They were imperfectly performed, as he was not very expert; but, being on a subject quite new to me, they equally surprised and pleased me. Soon after my return to Philadelphia, our library company received from Mr. Collinson, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, a present of a glass tube, with some account of the use of it in making such experiments. I eagerly seized the opportunity of repeating what I had seen at Boston; and, by much practice, acquired great readiness in performing those, also, which we had an account of from England, adding a number of new ones. I say much practice, for my house was continually full, for some time, with people who came to see these new wonders.

To divide a little this incumbrance among my friends, I caused a number of similar tubes to be blown at our glass-house, with which they furnished themselves, so that we had at length several performers. Among these, the principal was Mr. Kinnersley, an ingenious neighbor, who, being out of business, I encouraged to undertake showing the experiments for money, and drew up for him two lectures, in which the experiments were ranged in such order, and accompanied with such explanations in such method,

as that the foregoing should assist in comprehending the following. He procured an elegant apparatus for the purpose, in which all the little machines that I had roughly made for myself were nicely formed by instrument-makers. His lectures were well attended, and gave great satisfaction; and after some time he went through the colonies, exhibiting them in every capital town, and picked up some money. In the West India islands, indeed, it was with difficulty the experiments could be made, from the general moisture of the air.

Obliged as we were to Mr. Collinson for his present of the tube, etc., I thought it right he should be informed of our success in using it, and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our experiments. He got them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first thought worth so much notice as to be printed in their *Transactions*. One paper, which I wrote for Mr. Kinnersley, on the sameness of lightning with electricity, I sent to Dr. Mitchel, an acquaintance of mine, and one of the members also of that society, who wrote me word that it had been read but was laughed at by the connoisseurs. The papers, however, being shown to Dr. Fothergill, he thought them of too much value to be stifled, and advised the printing of them. Mr. Collinson then gave them to Cave for publication in his *Gentleman's Magazine;* but he chose to print them separately in a pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface. Cave, it seems, judged rightly for his profit, for by the additions that arrived afterward they swelled to a quarto volume, which has had five editions, and cost him nothing for copy-money.

It was, however, some time before those papers were much taken notice of in England. A copy of them

happening to fall into the hands of the Count de Buffon, a philosopher deservedly of great reputation in France, and, indeed, all over Europe, he prevailed with M. Dalibard to translate them into French, and they were printed at Paris. The publication offended the Abbé Nollet, preceptor in natural philosophy to the royal family, and an able experimenter, who had formed and published a theory of electricity, which then had the general vogue. He could not at first believe that such a work came from America, and said it must have been fabricated by his enemies at Paris, to decry his system. Afterwards, having been assured that there really existed such a person as Franklin at Philadelphia, which he had doubted, he wrote and published a volume of letters, chiefly addressed to me, defending his theory, and denying the verity of my experiments, and of the positions deduced from them.

I once purposed answering the abbé, and actually began the answer; but, on consideration that my writings contained a description of experiments which any one might repeat and verify, and if not to be verified, could not be defended; or of observations offered as conjectures, and not delivered dogmatically, therefore not laying me under any obligation to defend them; and reflecting that a dispute between two persons, writing in different languages, might be lengthened greatly by mistranslations, and thence misconceptions of one another's meaning, much of one of the abbé's letters being founded on an error in the translation, I concluded to let my papers shift for themselves, believing it was better to spend what time I could spare from public business in making new experiments, than in disputing about those already made. I therefore never answered M. Nollet, and the event gave me no cause to

repent my silence; for my friend M. le Roy, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, took up my cause and refuted him; my book was translated into the Italian, German, and Latin languages; and the doctrine it contained was by degrees universally adopted by the philosophers of Europe, in preference to that of the abbé; so that he lived to see himself the last of his sect, except Monsieur B——, of Paris, his pupil and immediate disciple.

What gave my book the more sudden and general celebrity was the success of one of its proposed experiments, made by Messrs. Dalibard and De Lor at Marly, for drawing lightning from the clouds. This engaged the public attention everywhere. M. de Lor, who had an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and lectured in that branch of science, undertook to repeat what he called the "Philadelphia Experiments"; and, after they were performed before the king and court, all the curious of Paris flocked to see them. I will not swell this narrative with an account of that capital experiment, nor of the infinite pleasure I received in the success of a similar one I made soon after with a kite at Philadelphia, as both are to be found in the histories of electricity.

Dr. Wright, an English physician, when at Paris, wrote to a friend, who was of the Royal Society, an account of the high esteem my experiments were in among the learned abroad, and of their wonder that my writings had been so little noticed in England. The society, on this, resumed the consideration of the letters that had been read to them; and the celebrated Dr. Watson drew up a summary account of them, and of all I had afterwards sent to England on the subject, which he accompanied with some praise of the writer. This summary was then printed in

their *Transactions;* and some members of the society in London, particularly the very ingenious Mr. Canton, having verified the experiment of procuring lightning from the clouds by a pointed rod, and acquainting them with the success, they soon made me more than amends for the slight with which they had before treated me. Without my having made any application for that honor, they chose me a member, and voted that I should be excused the customary payments, which would have amounted to twenty-

The Copley Medal Presented to Franklin in Recognition of His Scientific Experiments

five guineas; and ever since have given me their *Transactions* gratis. They also presented me with the gold medal of Sir Godfrey Copley for the year 1753, the delivery of which was accompanied by a very handsome speech of the president, Lord Macclesfield, wherein I was highly honored.

Our new governor, Captain Denny, brought over for me the before-mentioned medal from the Royal Society, which he presented to me at an entertainment given him by the city. He accompanied it with very polite expressions of his esteem for me, having, as he said, been long

acquainted with my character. After dinner, when the company, as was customary at that time, were engaged in drinking, he took me aside into another room, and acquainted me that he had been advised by his friends in England to cultivate a friendship with me, as one who was capable of giving him the best advice, and of contributing most effectually to the making his administration easy; that he therefore desired of all things to have a good understanding with me, and he begged me to be assured of his readiness on all occasions to render me every service that might be in his power. He said much to me, also, of the proprietor's good disposition towards the province, and of the advantage it might be to us all, and to me in particular, if the opposition that had been so long continued to his measures was dropped, and harmony restored between him and the people; in effecting which, it was thought no one could be more serviceable than myself; and I might depend on adequate acknowledgments and recompenses, etc., etc. The drinkers, finding we did not return immediately to the table, sent us a decanter of Madeira, which the governor made liberal use of, and in proportion became more profuse of his solicitations and promises.

My answers were to this purpose: that my circumstances, thanks to God, were such as to make proprietary favors unnecessary to me; and that, being a member of the Assembly, I could not possibly accept of any; that, however, I had no personal enmity to the proprietary, and that, whenever the public measures he proposed should appear to be for the good of the people, no one should espouse and forward them more zealously than myself; my past opposition having been founded on this, that the measures which had been urged were evidently intended

to serve the proprietary interest, with great prejudice to that of the people; that I was much obliged to him (the governor) for his professions of regard to me, and that he might rely on everything in my power to make his administration as easy as possible, hoping at the same time that he had not brought with him the same unfortunate instructions his predecessor had been hampered with.

On this he did not then explain himself; but when he afterwards came to do business with the Assembly, they appeared again, the disputes were renewed, and I was as active as ever in the opposition, being the penman, first, of the request to have a communication of the instructions, and then of the remarks upon them, which may be found in the votes of the time, and in the *Historical Review* I afterward published. But between us personally no enmity arose; we were often together; he was a man of letters, had seen much of the world, and was very entertaining and pleasing in conversation. He gave me the first information that my old friend James Ralph was still alive; that he was esteemed one of the best political writers in England; had been employed in the dispute between Prince Frederic and the king, and had obtained a pension of three hundred a year; that his reputation was indeed small as a poet, Pope having damned his poetry in the *Dunciad*, but his prose was thought as good as any man's.

CHAPTER XIX

VOYAGE TO ENGLAND

THE Assembly finally finding the proprietary obstinately persisted in manacling their deputies with instructions inconsistent not only with the privileges of the people, but with the service of the crown, resolved to petition the king against them, and appointed me their agent to go over to England, to present and support the petition. The House had sent up a bill to the governor, granting a sum of sixty thousand pounds for the king's use (ten thousand pounds of which was subjected to the orders of the then general, Lord Loudoun), which the governor absolutely refused to pass in compliance with his instructions.

I had agreed with Captain Morris, of the packet at New York, for my passage, and my stores were put on board, when Lord Loudoun arrived at Philadelphia, expressly, as he told me, to endeavor an accommodation between the governor and Assembly, that his majesty's service might not be obstructed by their dissensions. Accordingly, he desired the governor and myself to meet him, that he might hear what was to be said on both sides. We met and discussed the business. In behalf of the Assembly, I urged all the various arguments that may be found in the public papers of that time, which were of my writing, and are printed with the minutes of the Assembly; and the governor pleaded his instructions; the bond he had given to observe them, and his ruin if he disobeyed, yet seemed not unwilling to hazard himself if Lord Loudoun would

advise it. This his lordship did not choose to do, though I once thought I had nearly prevailed with him to do it; but finally he rather chose to urge the compliance of the Assembly; and he entreated me to use my endeavors with them for that purpose, declaring that he would spare none of the king's troops for the defence of our frontiers, and that, if we did not continue to provide for that defence ourselves, they must remain exposed to the enemy.

I acquainted the House with what had passed, and, presenting them with a set of resolutions I had drawn up, declaring our rights, and that we did not relinquish our claim to those rights, but only suspended the exercise of them on this occasion through force, against which we protested, they at length agreed to drop that bill, and frame another conformable to the proprietary instructions. This of course the governor passed, and I was then at liberty to proceed on my voyage. But, in the mean time, the packet had sailed with my sea-stores, which was some loss to me, and my only recompense was his lordship's thanks for my service, all the credit of obtaining the accommodation falling to his share.

He set out for New York before me; and, as the time for dispatching the packet-boats was at his disposition, and there were two then remaining there, one of which he said, was to sail very soon, I requested to know the precise time, that I might not miss her by any delay of mine. His answer was, "I have given out that she is to sail on Saturday next; but I may let you know, between ourselves, that if you are there by Monday morning, you will be in time, but do not delay longer." By some accidental hindrance at a ferry, it was Monday noon before I arrived, and I was much afraid she might have sailed, as the wind

was fair; but I was soon made easy by the information that she was still in the harbor and would not move till the next day. One would imagine that I was now on the very point of departing for Europe. I thought so; but I was not then so well acquainted with his lordship's character, of which indecision was one of the strongest features. I shall give some instances. It was about the beginning of April that I came to New York, and I think it was near the end of June before we sailed. There were then two of the packet-boats which had been long in port, but were detained for the general's letters, which were always to be ready to-morrow. Another packet arrived; she too was detained; and before we sailed, a fourth was expected. Ours was the first to be dispatched, as having been there longest. Passengers were engaged in all, and some extremely impatient to be gone, and the merchants uneasy about their letters and the orders they had given for insurance (it being war time) for fall goods; but their anxiety availed nothing; his lordship's letters were not ready; and yet whoever waited on him found him always at his desk, pen in hand, and concluded he must needs write abundantly.

Going myself one morning to pay my respects, I found in his antechamber one Innis, a messenger of Philadelphia, who had come from thence express with a packet from Governor Denny for the General. He delivered to me some letters from my friends there, which occasioned my inquiring when he was to return, and where he lodged, that I might send some letters by him. He told me he was ordered to call to-morrow at nine for the general's answer to the governor, and should set off immediately. I put my letters into his hands the same day. A fortnight after I

met him again in the same place. "So, you are soon returned, Innis?" "Returned! no, I am not gone yet." "How so?" "I have called here by order every morning these two weeks past for his lordship's letter, and it is not yet ready." "Is it possible, when he is so great a writer? For I see him constantly at his escritoire." "Yes," says Innis, "but he is like St. George on the signs, always on horseback, and never rides on." This observation of the messenger was, it seems, well founded; for, when in England, I understood that Mr. Pitt gave it as one reason for removing this general, and sending Generals Amherst and Wolfe, that the minister never heard from him, and could not know what he was doing.

This daily expectation of sailing, and all the three packets going down to Sandy Hook, to join the fleet there, the passengers thought it best to be on board, lest by a sudden order the ships should sail, and they be left behind. There, if I remember right, we were about six weeks, consuming our sea-stores, and obliged to procure more. At length the fleet sailed, the General and all his army on board, bound to Louisburg, with intent to besiege and take that fortress; all the packet-boats in company ordered to attend the General's ship, ready to receive his dispatches when they should be ready. We were out five days before we got a letter with leave to part, and then our ship quitted the fleet and steered for England. The other two packets he still detained, carried them with him to Halifax, where he stayed some time to exercise the men in sham attacks upon sham forts, then altered his mind as to besieging Louisburg, and returned to New York, with all his troops, together with the two packets above mentioned, and all their passengers. During his absence

the French and savages had taken Fort George, on the frontier of that province, and the savages had massacred many of the garrison after capitulation.

I saw afterwards in London Captain Bonnell, who commanded one of those packets. He told me that when he had been detained a month, he acquainted his lordship that his ship had grown foul, to a degree that must necessarily hinder her fast sailing, a point of consequence for a packet-boat, and requested an allowance of time to heave her down and clean her bottom. He was asked how long time that would require. He answered, three days. The general replied, "If you can do it in one day, I give you leave: otherwise not; for you must certainly sail the day after to-morrow." So he never obtained leave, though detained afterwards from day to day during full three months.

I saw also in London one of Bonnell's passengers, who was so enraged against his lordship for deceiving and detaining him so long at New York, and then carrying him to Halifax and back again, that he swore he would sue him for damages. Whether he did or not, I never heard; but, as he represented the injury to his affairs, it was very considerable.

On the whole, I wondered much how such a man came to be intrusted with so important a business as the conduct of a great army; but, having since seen more of the great world, and the means of obtaining, and motives for giving places, my wonder is diminished. General Shirley, on whom the command of the army devolved upon the death of Braddock, would, in my opinion, if continued in place, have made a much better campaign than that of Loudoun in 1757, which was frivolous, expensive, and disgraceful to

our nation beyond conception; for, though Shirley was not a bred soldier, he was sensible and sagacious in himself, and attentive to good advice from others, capable of forming judicious plans, and quick and active in carrying them into execution. Loudoun, instead of defending the colonies with his great army, left them totally exposed, while he paraded idly at Halifax, by which means Fort George was lost; besides, he deranged all our mercantile operations, and distressed our trade, by a long embargo on the exportation of provisions, on pretence of keeping supplies from being obtained by the enemy, but in reality for beating down their price in favor of the contractors, in whose profits, it was said, perhaps from suspicion only, he had a share. And, when at length the embargo was taken off, by neglecting to send notice of it to Charleston, the Carolina fleet was detained near three months longer, whereby their bottoms were so much damaged by the worm that a great part of them foundered in their passage home.

Shirley was, I believe, sincerely glad of being relieved from so burdensome a charge as the conduct of an army must be to a man unacquainted with military business. I was at the entertainment given by the city of New York to Lord Loudoun, on his taking upon him the command. Shirley, though thereby superseded, was present also. There was a great company of officers, citizens, and strangers, and, some chairs having been borrowed in the neighborhood, there was one among them very low, which fell to the lot of Mr. Shirley. Perceiving it as I sat by him, I said, "They have given you, sir, too low a seat." "No matter," says he, "Mr. Franklin, I find a low seat the easiest."

While I was, as afore mentioned, detained at New York,

I received all the accounts of the provisions, etc., that I had furnished to Braddock, some of which accounts could not sooner be obtained from the different persons I had employed to assist in the business. I presented them to Lord Loudoun, desiring to be paid the balance. He caused them to be regularly examined by the proper officer, who, after comparing every article with its voucher, certified them to be right; and the balance due for which his lordship promised to give me an order on the paymaster. This was, however, put off from time to time; and, though I called often for it by appointment, I did not get it. At length, just before my departure, he told me he had, on better consideration, concluded not to mix his accounts with those of his predecessors. "And you," says he, "when in England, have only to exhibit your accounts at the treasury, and you will be paid immediately."

I mentioned, but without effect, the great and unexpected expense I had been put to by being detained so long at New York, as a reason for my desiring to be presently paid; and on my observing that it was not right I should be put to any further trouble or delay in obtaining the money I had advanced, as I charged no commission for my service, "O, sir," says he, "you must not think of persuading us that you are no gainer; we understand better those affairs, and know that every one concerned in supplying the army finds means, in the doing it, to fill his own pockets." I assured him that was not my case, and that I had not pocketed a farthing; but he appeared clearly not to believe me; and, indeed, I have since learnt that immense fortunes are often made in such employments. As to my balance, I am not paid it to this day, of which more hereafter.

Our captain of the packet had boasted much, before we sailed, of the swiftness of his ship; unfortunately, when we came to sea, she proved the dullest of ninety-six sail, to his no small mortification. After many conjectures respecting the cause, when we were near another ship almost as dull as ours, which, however, gained upon us, the captain ordered all hands to come aft, and stand as near the ensign staff as possible. We were, passengers included, about forty persons. While we stood there, the ship mended her pace, and soon left her neighbor far behind, which proved clearly what our captain suspected, that she was loaded too much by the head. The casks of water, it seems, had been all placed forward; these he therefore ordered to be moved further aft, on which the ship recovered her character, and proved the best sailer in the fleet.

The captain said she had once gone at the rate of thirteen knots, which is accounted thirteen miles per hour. We had on board, as a passenger, Captain Kennedy, of the Navy, who contended that it was impossible, and that no ship ever sailed so fast, and that there must have been some error in the division of the log-line, or some mistake in heaving the log. A wager ensued between the two captains, to be decided when there should be sufficient wind. Kennedy thereupon examined rigorously the log-line, and, being satisfied with that, he determined to throw the log himself. Accordingly some days after, when the wind blew very fair and fresh, and the captain of the packet, Lutwidge, said he believed she then went at the rate of thirteen knots, Kennedy made the experiment, and owned his wager lost.

The above fact I give for the sake of the following

observation. It has been remarked, as an imperfection in the art of ship-building, that it can never be known, till she is tried, whether a new ship will or will not be a good sailer; for that the model of a good-sailing ship has been exactly followed in a new one, which has proved, on the contrary, remarkably dull. I apprehend that this may partly be occasioned by the different opinions of seamen respecting the modes of lading, rigging, and sailing of a ship; each has his system; and the same vessel, laden by the judgment and orders of one captain, shall sail better or worse than when by the orders of another. Besides, it scarce ever happens that a ship is formed, fitted for the sea, and sailed by the same person. One man builds the hull, another rigs her, a third lades and sails her. No one of these has the advantage of knowing all the ideas and experience of the others, and, therefore, cannot draw just conclusions from a combination of the whole.

Even in the simple operation of sailing when at sea, I have often observed different judgments in the officers who commanded the successive watches, the wind being the same. One would have the sails trimmed sharper or flatter than another, so that they seemed to have no certain rule to govern by. Yet I think a set of experiments might be instituted, first, to determine the most proper form of the hull for swift sailing; next, the best dimensions and properest place for the masts; then the form and quantity of sails, and their position, as the wind may be; and, lastly, the disposition of the lading. This is an age of experiments, and I think a set accurately made and combined would be of great use. I am persuaded, therefore, that ere long some ingenious philosopher will undertake it, to whom I wish success.

We were several times chased in our passage, but outsailed everything, and in thirty days had soundings. We had a good observation, and the captain judged himself so near our port, Falmouth, that, if we made a good run in the night, we might be off the mouth of that harbor in the morning, and by running in the night might escape the notice of the enemy's privateers, who often cruised near the entrance of the channel. Accordingly, all the sail was set that we could possibly make, and the wind being very fresh and fair, we went right before it, and made great way. The captain, after his observation, shaped his course, as he thought, so as to pass wide of the Scilly Isles; but it seems there is sometimes a strong indraught setting up St. George's Channel, which deceives seamen and caused the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's squadron. This indraught was probably the cause of what happened to us.

We had a watchman placed in the bow, to whom they often called, "Look well out before there," and he as often answered, "Ay, ay"; but perhaps had his eyes shut, and was half asleep at the time, they sometimes answering, as is said, mechanically; for he did not see a light just before us, which had been hid by the studding-sails from the man at the helm, and from the rest of the watch, but by an accidental yaw of the ship was discovered, and occasioned a great alarm, we being very near it, the light appearing to me as big as a cart-wheel. It was midnight, and our captain fast asleep; but Captain Kennedy, jumping upon deck, and seeing the danger, ordered the ship to wear round, all sails standing; an operation dangerous to the masts, but it carried us clear, and we escaped shipwreck, for we were running right upon the rocks on which the lighthouse was erected. This deliverance impressed me

strongly with the utility of lighthouses, and made me resolve to encourage the building more of them in America, if I should live to return there.

In the morning it was found by the soundings, etc., that we were near our port, but a thick fog hid the land from our sight. About nine o'clock the fog began to rise, and seemed to be lifted up from the water like the curtain at a play-house, discovering underneath, the town of Falmouth, the vessels in its harbor, and the fields that surrounded it. This was a most pleasing spectacle to those who had been so long without any other prospects than the uniform view of a vacant ocean, and it gave us the more pleasure as we were now free from the anxieties which the state of war occasioned.

I set out immediately, with my son, for London, and we only stopped a little by the way to view Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain, and Lord Pembroke's house and gardens, with his very curious antiquities at Wilton. We arrived in London the 27th of July, 1757.*

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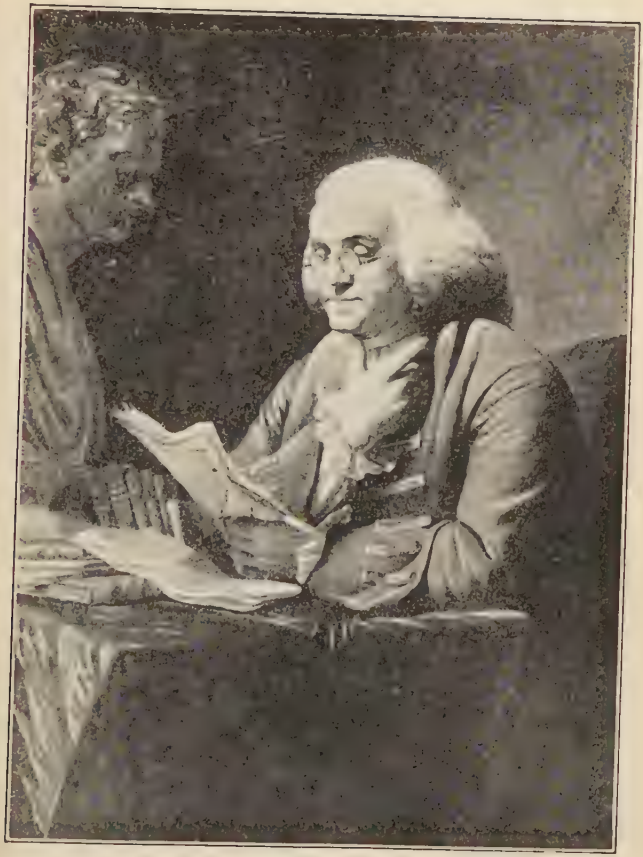
* This completes the *Autobiography* as originally published. The remaining pages were written by Franklin in Philadelphia during the last year of his life, 1790, and were first printed in English by John Bigelow in 1868. (See pages 327–332.)

CHAPTER XX

THE COLONIAL AGENT

As soon as I was settled in a lodging Mr. Charles had provided for me, I went to visit Dr. Fothergill, to whom I was strongly recommended, and whose counsel respecting my proceedings I was advised to obtain. He was against an immediate complaint to the government, and thought the proprietaries should first be personally applied to, who might possibly be induced by the interposition and persuasion of some private friends, to accommodate matters amicably. I then waited on my old friend and correspondent, Mr. Peter Collinson, who told me that John Hanbury, the great Virginia merchant, had requested to be informed when I should arrive, that he might carry me to Lord Granville's, who was then President of the Council, and wished to see me as soon as possible. I agreed to go with him the next morning. Accordingly Mr. Hanbury called for me and took me in his carriage to that nobleman's, who received me with great civility; and after some questions respecting the present state of affairs in America and discourse thereupon, he said to me: "You Americans have wrong ideas of the nature of your constitution; you contend that the king's instructions to his governors are not laws, and think yourselves at liberty to regard or disregard them at your own discretion. But those instructions are not like the pocket instructions given to a minister going abroad, for regulating his conduct in



Detroit Publishing Co.

FRANKLIN THE PHILOSOPHER

This picture, known as the Martin portrait, was painted probably in London when Franklin was about sixty years old.

some trifling point of ceremony. They are first drawn up by judges learned in the laws; they are then considered, debated, and perhaps amended in Council after which they are signed by the king. They are then, so far as they relate to you, the law of the land, for the king is the legislator of the colonies." I told his lordship this was new doctrine to me. I had always understood from our charters that our laws were to be made by our Assemblies, to be presented indeed to the king for his royal assent, but that being once given the king could not repeal or alter them. And as the Assemblies could not make permanent laws without his assent, so neither could he make a law for them without theirs. He assured me I was totally mistaken. I did not think so, however, and his lordship's conversation having a little alarmed me as to what might be the sentiments of the court concerning us, I wrote it down as soon as I returned to my lodgings. I recollected that about twenty years before, a clause in a bill brought into Parliament by the ministry had proposed to make the king's instructions laws in the colonies, but the clause was thrown out by the Commons, for which we adored them as our friends and friends of liberty, till by their conduct towards us in 1765 it seemed that they had refused that point of sovereignty to the king only that they might reserve it for themselves.

After some days, Dr. Fothergill having spoken to the proprietaries, they agreed to a meeting with me at Mr. T. Penn's house in Spring Garden. The conversation at first consisted of mutual declarations of disposition to reasonable accommodations, but I suppose each party had its own ideas of what should be meant by reasonable. We then went into consideration of our several points of

complaint, which I enumerated. The proprietaries justified their conduct as well as they could, and I the Assembly's. We now appeared very wide, and so far from each other in our opinions as to discourage all hope of agreement. However, it was concluded that I should give them the heads of our complaints in writing, and they promised then to consider them. I did so soon after, but they put the paper into the hands of their solicitor, Ferdinand John Paris, who managed for them all their law business in their great suit with the neighboring proprietary of Maryland, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted seventy years, and wrote for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, they being really weak in point of argument and haughty in expression, he had conceived a mortal enmity to me, which discovering itself whenever we met, I declined the proprietary's proposal that he and I should discuss the heads of complaint between our two selves and refused treating with any one but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learnt, for they did not communicate it to me, but sent a long message to the Assembly drawn and signed by Paris, reciting my paper, complaining of its want of formality, as a rudeness on my part, and giving a flimsy

justification of their conduct, adding that they should be willing to accommodate matters if the Assembly would send out some person of candor to treat with them for that purpose, intimating thereby that I was not such.

The want of formality or rudeness was, probably, my not having addressed the paper to them with their assumed titles of True and Absolute Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, which I omitted as not thinking it necessary in a paper, the intention of which was only to reduce to a certainty by writing, what in conversation I had delivered viva voce.

But during this delay, the Assembly having prevailed with Governor Denny to pass an act taxing the proprietary estate in common with the estates of the people, which was the grand point in dispute, they omitted answering the message.

When this act however came over, the proprietaries, counselled by Paris, determined to oppose its receiving the royal assent. Accordingly they petitioned the king in Council, and a hearing was appointed in which two lawyers were employed by them against the act, and two by me in support of it. They alleged that the act was intended to load the proprietary estate in order to spare those of the people, and that if it were suffered to continue in force, and the proprietaries, who were in odium with the people, left to their mercy in proportioning the taxes, they would inevitably be ruined. We replied that the act had no such intention, and would have no such effect. That the assessors were honest and discreet men under an oath to assess fairly and equitably, and that any advantage each of them might expect in lessening his own tax by augmenting that of the proprietaries was too trifling to

induce them to perjure themselves. This is the purport of what I remember as urged by both sides, except that we insisted strongly on the mischievous consequences that must attend a repeal, for that the money, £100,000, being printed and given to the king's use, expended in his service, and now spread among the people, the repeal would strike it dead in their hands to the ruin of many, and the total discouragement of future grants, and the selfishness of the proprietors in soliciting such a general catastrophe, merely from a groundless fear of their estate being taxed too highly, was insisted on in the strongest terms. On this, Lord Mansfield, one of the counsel, rose, and beckoning me took me into the clerk's chamber, while the lawyers were pleading, and asked me if I was really of opinion that no injury would be done the proprietary estate in the execution of the act. I said, certainly. "Then," says he, "you can have little objection to enter into an engagement to assure that point." I answered, "None at all." He then called in Paris, and after some discourse, his lordship's proposition was accepted on both sides; a paper to the purpose was drawn up by the Clerk of the Council, which I signed with Mr. Charles, who was also an Agent of the Province for their ordinary affairs, when Lord Mansfield returned to the Council Chamber, where finally the law was allowed to pass. Some changes were however recommended, and we also engaged they should be made by a subsequent law, but the Assembly did not think them necessary; for one year's tax having been levied by the act before the order of Council arrived, they appointed a committee to examine the proceedings of the assessors, and on this committee they put several particular friends of the proprietaries. After a full enquiry, they unani-

mously signed a report that they found the tax had been assessed with perfect equity.

The Assembly looked into my entering into the first part of the engagement as an essential service to the Province, since it secured the credit of the paper money then spread over all the country. They gave me their thanks in form when I returned. But the proprietaries were enraged at Governor Denny for having passed the act, and turned him out with threats of suing him for breach of instructions which he had given bond to observe. He, however, having done it at the instance of the General, and for His Majesty's service, and having some powerful interest at court, despised the threats and they were never put in execution.

(UNFINISHED)

SELECTIONS FROM FRANKLIN'S OTHER WRITINGS

FOREWORD

When we examine Smyth's ten-volume edition of Franklin's writings, we find that the great bulk consists of letters, reports, essays, and miscellaneous short articles which either were not intended for publication, or appeared merely in the newspapers of the day. His innumerable pamphlets were written primarily to instruct his readers or to arouse public sentiment. Like everything he wrote they were composed hastily and were seldom revised. Many of his most popular essays, even the *Autobiography* itself, were not printed until after his death. Indeed, it is clear that Franklin never considered himself a writer by profession, as was Goldsmith, or Pope, or Dr. Johnson.

Yet such was the genius of the man that when he took pen in hand he expressed himself with remarkable clearness and precision. Moreover, he had wit, humor, and tact; and above all he was interesting. As a result, his works have three times been published in complete form; selections from his writings have been issued again and again; a new volume of his choicest letters has just come from the press (1927); the *Autobiography*, reprinted scores of times, has become, like *Robinson Crusoe*, a classic of its kind; and the sayings of Poor Richard have been quoted until they are part and parcel of our native speech. In fact, Franklin is to-day regarded as the chief American writer of the eighteenth century, and "more than any other man he is the true father of American literature."

The selections which follow have been chosen partly because of their variety, but more particularly because of their interest to boys and girls of high-school age. A list of his more important works will be found on pages 333–335.

THE JOURNAL OF 1726

[This journal, which Franklin mentions in the *Autobiography* (see page 68), was first published by Temple Franklin soon after his grandfather's death. In many ways it is a remarkable document. It was written at sea when Franklin was returning from his first London experience to enter the employment of Mr. Denham in Philadelphia. At the time he was twenty. Yet in keenness of observation, in shrewd comment on life, and especially in his complete ability to take care of himself, he seems to be a much older man.

Let us remember, too, that his *Autobiography* and his more popular essays were all written after 1770, when Franklin had passed middle life, whereas this journal carries us back nearly fifty years. It was composed when he was the age of a college junior to-day. Still it is neither boyish nor even youthful. On the contrary, it shows a command of style and a maturity of thought that mark already the man of genius.

Several of the less interesting passages, in all about a fourth of the journal, are here omitted.]

JOURNAL OF OCCURRENCES IN MY VOYAGE TO PHILADELPHIA ON BOARD THE *BERKSHIRE*, HENRY CLARK, MASTER, FROM LONDON

Friday, July 22, 1726. — Yesterday in the afternoon we left London, and came to an anchor off Gravesend about eleven at night. I lay ashore all night, and this morning took a walk up to Windmill Hill, from whence I had an agreeable prospect of the country for above twenty miles round, and two or three reaches of the river, with ships and boats sailing both up and down, and Tilbury Fort on the other side, which commands the river and passage to London. This Gravesend is a cursed biting place; the

chief dependence of the people being the advantage they make by imposing upon strangers. If you buy anything of them, and give half what they ask, you pay twice as much as the thing is worth. Thank God, we shall leave it to-morrow.

Sunday, July 24. — This morning we weighed anchor, and coming to the Downs, we set our pilot ashore at Deal, and passed through. And now, whilst I write this, sitting upon the quarterdeck, I have me thinks one of the pleasantest scenes in the world before me. 'Tis a fine, clear day, and we are going away before the wind with an easy, pleasant gale. We have near fifteen sail of ships in sight, and I may say in company. On the left hand appears the coast of France at a distance, and on the right is the town and castle of Dover, with the green hills and chalky cliffs of England, to which we must now bid farewell. Albion, farewell!

Wednesday, July 27. — This morning, the wind blowing very hard at West, we stood in for the land, in order to make some harbour. About noon we took on board a pilot out of a fishing shallop, who brought the ship into Spithead, off Portsmouth. The captain, Mr. Denham, and myself went on shore, and, during the little time we stayed, I made some observations on the place.

Portsmouth has a fine harbour. The entrance is so narrow, that you can throw a stone from fort to fort; yet it is near ten fathom deep, and bold close to; but within there is room enough for five hundred, or, for aught I know, a thousand sail of ships. The town is strongly fortified, being encompassed with a high wall and a deep and broad ditch, and two gates, that are entered over drawbridges; besides several forts, batteries of large cannon, and other outworks, the names of which I know

not, nor had I time to take so strict a view as to be able to describe them. In war time, the town has a garrison of 10,000 men; but at present 'tis only manned by about 100 invalids. Notwithstanding the English have so many fleets of men-of-war at sea at this time, I counted in this harbour above thirty sail that lay by unrigged, but easily fitted out upon occasion, all their masts and rigging marked and numbered in storehouses at hand. The king's yards and docks employ abundance of men, who, even in peace time, are constantly building and refitting men-of-war for the king's service.

Gosport lies opposite to Portsmouth, and is near as big, if not bigger; but, except the fort at the mouth of the harbour, and a small outwork before the main street of the town, it is only defended by a mud wall, which surrounds it, and a trench or dry ditch of about ten feet depth and breadth. Portsmouth is a place of very little trade in peace time; it depending chiefly on fitting out men-of-war. Spithead is the place where the fleet commonly anchor, and is a very good riding-place. The people of Portsmouth tell strange stories of the severity of one Gibson, who was governor of this place in the queen's time, to his soldiers, and show you a miserable dungeon by the town gate, which they call Johnny Gibson's Hole, where, for trifling misdemeanors, he used to confine his soldiers till they were almost starved to death. It is a common maxim, that, without severe discipline, 'tis impossible to govern the licentious rabble of the soldiery. I own, indeed, that if a commander finds he has not those qualities in him that will make him beloved by his people, he ought, by all means, to make use of such methods as will make them fear him, since one or the other (or both) is absolutely necessary;

but Alexander and Cæsar, those renowned generals, received more faithful service, and performed greater actions, by means of the love their soldiers bore them, than they could possibly have done, if, instead of being loved and respected, they had been hated and feared by those they commanded.

Thursday, July 28. — This morning we came on board, having lain on shore all night. We weighed anchor and with a moderate gale, stood in for Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, and came to an anchor before the town about eleven o'clock. Six of the passengers went on shore, and diverted themselves till about twelve at night; and then got a boat, and came on board again, expecting to sail early in the morning.

Friday, July 29. — But the wind continuing adverse still, we went ashore again this morning, and took a walk to Newport, which is about four miles distant from Cowes, and is the metropolis of the island. Thence we walked to Carisbrooke, about a mile further, out of curiosity to see that castle, which King Charles the First was confined in; and so returned to Cowes in the afternoon, and went on board in expectation of sailing.

Cowes is but a small town, and lies close to the seaside, pretty near opposite to Southampton on the main shore of England. It is divided into two parts by a small river that runs up within a quarter of a mile of Newport, and is distinguished by East and West Cowes. There is a fort built in an oval form, on which there are eight or ten guns mounted for the defence of the road. They have a post-office, a custom-house, and a chapel of ease. And a good harbour for ships to ride in in easterly and westerly winds.

All this afternoon I spent agreeably enough at the draught-board. It is a game I much delight in; but it requires a clear head, and undisturbed; and the persons playing, if they would play well, ought not much to regard the consequence of the game, for that diverts and withdraws the attention of the mind from the game itself, and makes the player liable to make many false open moves; and I will venture to lay it down for an infallible rule, that, if two persons equal in judgment play for a considerable sum, he that loves money most shall lose; his anxiety for the success of the game confounds him. Courage is almost as requisite for the good conduct of this game as in a real battle; for, if the player imagines himself opposed by one that is much his superior in skill, his mind is so intent on the defensive part, that an advantage passes unobserved.

Newport makes a pretty prospect enough from the hills that surround it; for it lies down in a bottom. The houses are beautifully intermixed with trees, and a tall, old-fashioned steeple rises in the midst of the town, which is very ornamental to it. The name of the church I could not learn; but there is a very neat market-house, paved with square stone, and consisting of eleven arches. There are several pretty handsome streets, and many well-built houses and shops, well stored with goods. But I think that Newport is chiefly remarkable for oysters, which they send to London and other places, where they are very much esteemed, being thought the best in England. The oyster-merchants fetch them, as I am informed, from other places, and lay them upon certain beds of the river (the water of which is it seems excellently adapted for that purpose) a-fattening; and when they have lain a suitable time they are taken up again, and made fit for sale.

Saturday, July 30. — This morning about eight o'clock we weighed anchor, and turned to windward till we came to Yarmouth, another little town upon this island, and there cast anchor again, the wind blowing hard, and still westerly. Yarmouth is a smaller town than Cowes; yet, the buildings being better, it makes a handsomer prospect at a distance, and the streets are clean and neat. . . .

Having taken a view of the church, town, and fort, on which there are seven large guns mounted, three of us took a walk up further into the island; and, having gone about two miles, we headed a creek that runs up one end of the town, and then went to Freshwater Church, about a mile nearer the town, but on the other side of the creek. Having stayed here some time it grew dark, and my companions were desirous to be gone, lest those whom we had left drinking where we dined in the town should go on board and leave us. We were told that it was our best way to go strait down to the mouth of the creek, and that there was a ferry boy that would carry us over to the town. But when we came to the house the lazy whelp was in bed, and refused to rise and put us over; upon which we went down to the water-side, with a design to take his boat, and go over by ourselves. We found it very difficult to get the boat, it being fastened to a stake, and the tide risen near fifty yards beyond it; I stripped all to my shirt to wade up to it, but missing the causeway, which was under water, I got up to my middle in mud. At last I came to the stake; but, to my great disappointment, found she was locked and chained. I endeavored to draw the staple with one of the thole-pins, but in vain; I tried to pull up the stake, but to no purpose; so that,

after an hour's fatigue and trouble in the wet mud, I was forced to return without the boat.

We had no money in our pockets, and therefore began to conclude to pass the night in some haystack, though the wind blew very cold and very hard. In the midst of these troubles one of us recollected that he had a horse-shoe in his pocket, which he found in his walk, and asked me if I could not wrench the staple out with that. I took it, went, tried, succeeded, and brought the boat ashore to them. Now we rejoiced and all got in, and, when I had dressed myself, we put off. But the worst of all our troubles was to come yet; for, it being high water and the tide over all the banks, though it was moonlight we could not discern the channel of the creek; but, rowing heedlessly straight forward, when we were got about half way over, we found ourselves aground upon a mud bank; and, striving to row her off by putting our oars in the mud, we broke one and there stuck fast, not having four inches water. We were now in the utmost perplexity, not knowing what in the world to do; we could not tell whether the tide was rising or falling; but at length we plainly perceived it was ebb; and we could feel no deeper water within the reach of our oar.

It was hard to lie in an open boat all night exposed to the wind and weather; but it was worse to think how foolish we should look in the morning, when the owner of the boat should catch us in that condition, where we must be exposed to the view of all the town. After we had strove and struggled for half an hour and more, we gave all over, and sat down with our hands before us, despairing to get off; for, if the tide had left us, we had been never the nearer; we must have sat in the boat, as the mud was too

deep for us to walk ashore through it, being up to our necks. At last we bethought ourselves of some means of escaping and two of us stripped and got out, and thereby lightening the boat, we drew her upon our knees near fifty yards into deeper water; and then without much ado, having but one oar, we got safe ashore under the fort; and, having dressed ourselves and tied the man's boat, we went with great joy to the Queen's Head, where we left our companions, whom we found waiting for us, though it was very late. Our boat being gone on board, we were obliged to lie ashore all night; and thus ended our walk.

Friday, August 5. — Called up this morning and hurried aboard, the wind being northwest. About noon we weighed and left Cowes the third time, and, sailing by Yarmouth, we came into the channel through the Needles; which passage is guarded by Hurst Castle, standing on a spit of land which runs out from the main land of England within a mile of the Isle of Wight. Towards night the wind veered to the westward, which put us under apprehensions of being forced into port again: but presently after it fell a flat calm, and then we had a small breeze that was fair for half an hour, when it was succeeded by a calm again.

Saturday, August 6. — This morning we had a fair breeze for some hours, and then a calm that lasted all day. In the afternoon I leaped overboard and swam round the ship to wash myself. . . .

Friday, August 19. — This day we have had a pleasant breeze at east. In the morning we spied a sail upon our larboard bow, about two leagues' distance. About noon she put out English colours, and we answered with our ensign, and in the afternoon we spoke with her. She was

a ship of New York, Walter Kippen, Master, bound from Rochelle, in France, to Boston, with salt. Our captain and Mr. Denham went on board, and stayed till evening, it being fine weather.

Yesterday, complaints being made that Mr. G—n, one of the passengers, had, with a fraudulent design, marked the cards, a court of justice was called immediately, and he was brought to his trial in form. A Dutchman, who could speak no English, deposed by his interpreter that, when our mess was on shore at Cowes, the prisoner at the bar marked all the court cards on the back with a pen.

I have sometimes observed that we are apt to fancy the person that cannot speak intelligibly to us, proportionably stupid in understanding, and, when we speak two or three words in English to a foreigner, it is louder than ordinary, as if we thought him deaf, and that he had lost the use of his ears as well as his tongue. Something like this I imagine might be the case of Mr. G—n; he fancied the Dutchman could not see what he was about, because he could not understand English, and therefore boldly did it before his face.

The evidence was plain and positive; the prisoner could not deny the fact, but replied in his defence that the cards he marked were not those we commonly played with, but an imperfect pack, which he afterwards gave to the cabin-boy. The attorney-general observed to the court that it was not likely he should take the pains to mark the cards without some ill design, or some further intention than just to give them to the boy when he had done, who understood nothing at all of cards. But another evidence being called deposed that he saw the prisoner in the main-top one day, when he thought himself unobserved, marking a

pack of cards on the backs, some with the print of a dirty thumb, others with the top of his finger. Now, there being but two packs on board, and the prisoner having just confessed the marking of one, the court perceived the case was plain. In fine the jury brought him in guilty, and he was condemned to be carried up to the round-top, and made fast there, in view of all the ship's company, during the space of three hours, that being the place where the act was committed, and to pay a fine of two bottles of brandy. But the prisoner resisting authority and refusing to submit to punishment, one of the sailors stepped up aloft and let down a rope to us, which we, with much struggling, made fast about his middle, and hoisted him up in the air, sprawling, by main force. We let him hang, cursing and swearing, for near a quarter of an hour; but at length, he crying out, "Murder!" and looking black in the face, the rope being overtort about his middle, we thought proper to let him down again; and our mess have excommunicated him till he pays his fine, refusing either to play, eat, drink, or converse with him. . . .

Thursday, August 25. — Our excommunicated shipmate thinking proper to comply with the sentence the court passed upon him, and expressing himself willing to pay the fine, we have this morning received him into unity again. Man is a sociable being, and it is, for aught I know, one of the worst of punishments to be excluded from society. I have read abundance of fine things on the subject of solitude, and I know 'tis a common boast in the mouths of those that affect to be thought wise, that they are never less alone than when alone. I acknowledge solitude an agreeable refreshment to a busy mind; but were these thinking people obliged to be always alone, I am apt to

think they would quickly find their very being insupportable to them. I have heard of a gentleman, who underwent seven years' close confinement in the Bastile at Paris. He was a man of sense, he was a thinking man, but being deprived of all conversation, to what purpose should he think; for he was denied even the instruments of expressing his thoughts in writing. There is no burden so grievous to man as time he knows not how to dispose of. He was forced at last to have recourse to this invention: he daily scattered pieces of paper about the floor of his little room, and then employed himself in picking them up again and sticking them in rows and figures on the arm of his elbow-chair; and he used to tell his friends, after his release, that he verily believed if he had not taken this method he should have lost his senses. One of the philosophers, I think it was Plato, used to say, that he had rather be the veriest stupid block in nature, than the possessor of all knowledge without some intelligent being to communicate it to.

What I have said may in a measure account for some particulars in my present way of living here on board. Our company is in general very unsuitably mixed to keep up the pleasure and spirit of conversation: and, if there are one or two pair of us that can sometimes entertain one another for half an hour agreeably, yet perhaps we are seldom in the humour for it together. I rise in the morning and read for an hour or two, perhaps, and then reading grows tiresome. Want of exercise occasions want of appetite, so that eating and drinking afford but little pleasure. I tire myself with playing at draughts, then I go to cards: nay, there is no play so trifling or childish but we fly to it for entertainment. A contrary wind, I

know not how, puts us all out of good humour; we grow sullen, silent, and reserved, and fret at each other upon every little occasion. 'Tis a common opinion among the ladies, that if a man is ill-natured he infallibly discovers it when he is in liquor. But I who have known many instances to the contrary, will teach them a more effectual method to discover the natural temper and disposition of their humble servants. Let the ladies make one long sea-voyage with them, and, if they have the least spark of ill-nature in them, and conceal it to the end of the voyage, I will forfeit all my pretensions to their favour. . . .

Wednesday, Sept. 14. — This afternoon, about two o'clock, it being fair weather and almost calm, as we sat playing draughts upon deck we were surprised by a sudden and unusual darkness of the sun, which, as we could perceive, was only covered with a small, thin cloud; when that was passed by, we discovered that that glorious luminary laboured under a very great eclipse. At least ten parts of twelve of him were hid from our eyes, and we were apprehensive he would have been totally darkened. . . .

Sunday, September 18. — We have had the finest weather imaginable all this day, accompanied with what is still more agreeable, a fair wind. Every one puts on a clean shirt and a cheerful countenance, and we begin to be very good company. Heaven grant that this favourable gale may continue! For we have had so much of turning to windward, that the word helm-alee is become almost as disagreeable to our ears as the sentence of the judge to a convicted malefactor.

Monday, September 19. — The weather looks a little uncertain, and we begin to fear the loss of our fair wind.

We see tropic birds every day, sometimes five or six together; they are about as big as pigeons.

Tuesday, September 20. — The wind is now westerly again, to our great mortification; and we are come to an allowance of bread, two biscuits and a half a day.

Wednesday, Sept. 21. — This morning our steward was brought to the gears and whipped, for making an extravagant use of flour in the puddings, and for several other misdemeanours. It has been perfectly calm all this day, and very hot. I was determined to wash myself in the sea to-day, and should have done so, had not the appearance of a shark, that mortal enemy to swimmers, deterred me; he seemed to be about five feet long, moves round the ship at some distance, in a slow, majestic manner, attended by nearly a dozen of those they call pilot-fish, of different sizes; the largest of them is not so big as a small mackerel, and the smallest not bigger than my little finger. Two of these diminutive pilots keep just before his nose, and he seems to govern himself in his motions by their direction; while the rest surround him on every side indifferently. A shark is never seen without a retinue of these, who are his purveyors, discovering and distinguishing his prey for him; while he in turn gratefully protects them from the ravenous, hungry dolphin. They are commonly counted a very greedy fish; yet this refuses to meddle with the bait thrown out for him. 'Tis likely he has already made a full meal. . . .

Friday, September 23. — This morning we spied a sail to windward of us about two leagues. We showed our jack upon the ensign-staff, and shortened sail for them till noon, when she came up with us. She was a scow, from Dublin, bound for New York, having upwards

of fifty servants on board of both sexes; they all appeared upon deck, and seemed very much pleased at the sight of us. There is really something strangely cheering to the spirits in the meeting of a ship at sea, containing a society of creatures of the same species and in the same circumstances with ourselves, after we had been long separated and excommunicated as it were from the rest of mankind. . . .

Friday, Sept. 30. — I sat up last night to observe an eclipse of the moon, which the calendar, calculated for London, informed us would happen at five o'clock in the morning, Sept. 30. It began with us about eleven last night, and continued till near two this morning, darkening her body about six digits, or one half; the middle of it being about half an hour after twelve, by which we may discover that we are in a meridian of about four hours and a half from London, or 67 degrees of longitude, and consequently have not much above one hundred leagues to run. This is the second eclipse we have had within these fifteen days. . . .

Tuesday, October 4. — Last night we struck a dolphin, and this morning we found a flying-fish dead under the windlass. He is about the bigness of a small mackerel, a sharp head, a small mouth, and a tail forked somewhat like a dolphin, but the lowest branch much larger and longer than the other, and tinged with yellow. His back and sides of a darkish blue, his belly white, and his skin very thick. His wings are of a finny substance, about a span long, reaching, when close to his body from an inch below his gills to an inch above his tail. When they fly it is straight forward, for they cannot readily turn, a yard or two above the water; and perhaps fifty yards

is the furthest before they dip into the water again, for they cannot support themselves in the air any longer than while their wings continue wet. These flying-fish are the common prey of the dolphin, who is their mortal enemy. When he pursues them, they rise and fly; and he keeps close under them till they drop, and then snaps them up immediately. They generally fly in flocks, four or five, or perhaps a dozen together and a dolphin is seldom caught without one or more in his belly. We put this flying-fish upon the hook, in hopes of catching one, but in a few minutes they got it off without hooking themselves; and they will not meddle with any other bait.

Tuesday Night. — Since eleven o'clock we have struck three fine dolphins, which are a great refreshment to us. This afternoon we have seen abundance of grampuses, which are seldom far from land; but towards evening we had a more evident token, to wit, a little tired bird, something like a lark, came on board us, who certainly is an American, and 'tis likely was ashore this day. It is now calm. We hope for a fair wind next. . . .

Friday, October 7. — Last night, about nine o'clock, sprung up a fine gale at north-east, which run us in our course at the rate of seven miles an hour all night. We were in hopes of seeing land this morning, but cannot. The water, which we thought was changed, is now as blue as the sky: so that, unless at that time we were running over some unknown shoal, our eyes strangely deceived us. All the reckonings have been out these several days; though the captain says 'tis his opinion we are yet a hundred leagues from land; for my part I know not what to think of it; we have run all this day at a great rate, and now night has come on we have no

soundings. Sure the American continent is not all sunk under water since we left it.

Saturday, October 8. — The fair wind continues still; we ran all night in our course, sounding every four hours, but can find no ground yet, nor is the water changed by all this day's run. This afternoon we saw an Irish lord, and a bird which flying looked like a yellow duck. These, they say, are not seen far from the coast. Other signs of lands have we none. Abundance of large porpoises ran by us this afternoon, and we were followed by a shoal of small ones, leaping out of the water as they approached. Towards evening we spied a sail ahead, and spoke with her just before dark. She was bound from New York for Jamaica, and left Sandy Hook yesterday about noon, from which they reckon themselves forty-five leagues distant. By this we compute that we are not above thirty leagues from our capes, and hope to see land to-morrow.

Sunday, October 9. — We have had the wind fair all the morning; at twelve we sounded, perceiving the water visibly changed, and struck ground at twenty-five fathoms, to our universal joy. After dinner one of our mess went up aloft to look out, and presently pronounced the long wished-for sound, LAND! LAND! In less than an hour we could descry it from the deck, appearing like tufts of trees. I could not discern it so soon as the rest; my eyes were dimmed with the suffusion of two small drops of joy. By three o'clock we were run in within two leagues of the land, and spied a small sail standing along shore. We would gladly have spoken with her, for our captain was unacquainted with the coast, and knew not what land it was that we saw. We made all the sail we could to speak with her. We made a signal of distress; but all would

not do, the ill-natured dog would not come near us. Then we stood off again till morning, not caring to venture too near.

Monday, October 10. — This morning we stood in again for land; and we that had been here before all agreed that it was Cape Henlopen; about noon we were come very near, and to our great joy saw a pilot-boat come off to us, which was exceeding welcome. He brought on board about a peck of apples with him; they seemed the most delicious I ever tasted in my life; the salt provisions we had been used to gave them a relish. We had extraordinary fine wind all the afternoon, and ran above a hundred miles up the Delaware before ten at night. The country appears very pleasant to the eye, being covered with woods, except here and there a house and plantation. We cast anchor when the tide turned, about two miles below Newcastle, and there lay till the morning tide.

Tuesday, October 11. — This morning we weighed anchor with a gentle breeze, and passed by Newcastle, whence they hailed us and bade us welcome. It is extreme fine weather. The sun enlivens our stiff limbs with his glorious rays of warmth and brightness. The sky looks gay, with here and there a silver cloud. The fresh breezes from the woods refresh us; the immediate prospect of liberty, after so long and irksome confinement, ravishes us. In short, all things conspire to make this the most joyful day I ever knew. As we passed by Chester, some of the company went on shore, impatient once more to tread on terra firma, and designing for Philadelphia by land. Four of us remained on board, not caring for the fatigue of travel when we knew that the journey had much weakened us. About eight at night, the wind failing us, we cast anchor at

Redbank, six miles from Philadelphia, and thought we must be obliged to lie on board that night; but some young Philadelphians happening to be out upon their pleasure in a boat, they came on board, and offered to take us up with them; we accepted of their kind proposal, and about ten o'clock landed at Philadelphia, heartily congratulating each upon our having happily completed so tedious and dangerous a voyage. Thank God!

SELECTIONS FROM POOR RICHARD

[In Franklin's time almanacs were perhaps the most popular form of literature in America. They were more than monthly calendars and records of the movements of heavenly bodies. In them were gathered together all sorts of anecdotes and scraps of useful information, verses, jokes, and agricultural advice.

It was in 1732, when Franklin had been settled nine years in Philadelphia, that he began to publish an almanac, pretending that it was written by one Richard Saunders. From the fact that Franklin usually introduced his proverbs with the phrase "Poor Richard says," or "according to Poor Richard," the pamphlet gradually came to be called *Poor Richard's Almanac*, and so it is known to-day. In his *Autobiography* (see pages 116 and 117) he explains the principles on which he constructed his almanac, and tells of its extensive popularity.

It is interesting to note in passing that when King Louis XVI of France gave John Paul Jones a ship with which to attack British merchantmen in the war for independence, it was named in honor of Franklin the *Bon Homme Richard*, or the *Clever Richard*, for it was by this name that the wise old philosopher and statesman had first become widely known.]

PLAN FOR SAVING ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS

(1756)

As I spent some weeks last winter in visiting my old acquaintance in the Jerseys, great complaints I heard for want of money, and that leave to make more paper bills could not be obtained. Friends and countrymen, my advice on this head shall cost you nothing; and if you will not be angry with me for giving it, I promise you not to be offended if you do not take it.

You spend yearly at least two hundred thousand pounds, it is said, in European, East Indian, and West Indian commodities. Suppose one-half of this expense to be in things absolutely necessary, the other half may be called superfluities, or, at best, conveniences, which, however, you might live without for one little year and not suffer exceedingly. Now, to save this half observe these few directions:

1. When you incline to have new clothes, look first well over the old ones and see if you cannot shift with them another year, either by scouring, mending, or even patching if necessary. Remember, a patch on your coat and money in your pocket is better and more creditable than a writ on your back and no money to take it off.

2. When you are inclined to buy chinaware, chintzes, India silks, or any other of their flimsy, slight manufactures, I would not be so bad with you as to insist on your absolutely resolving against it; all I advise is to put it off (as you do your repentance) till another year, and this, in some respects, may prevent an occasion of repentance.

3. If you are now a drinker of punch, wine, or tea twice a day, for the ensuing year drink them but once a day. If you now drink them but once a day, do it but every other day. If you do it now but once a week, reduce the practice to once a fortnight. And if you do not exceed in quantity as you lessen the times, half your expense in these articles will be saved.

4. When you incline to drink rum, fill the glass half with water.

Thus at the year's end there will be a hundred thousand pounds more money in your country.

If paper money in ever so great a quantity could be

made, no man could get any of it without giving something for it. But all he saves in this way will be his own for nothing and his country actually so much richer. Then the merchants' old and doubtful debts may be honestly paid off, and trading becomes surer thereafter, if not so extensive.

FATHER ABRAHAM'S SPEECH

[This is the "harangue of a wise old man prefixed to the almanac of 1757" which Franklin describes on page 117 of the *Autobiography*. The proverbs here "assembled into a connected discourse" were never claimed by Franklin to be original with him. He simply worked them over from the sayings of many ages and nations.]

COURTEOUS READER: I have heard that nothing gives an author so great pleasure as to find his works respectfully quoted by other learned authors. This pleasure I have seldom enjoyed. For though I have been, if I may say it without vanity, an eminent author of almanacs annually now for a full quarter of a century, my brother authors in the same way, for what reason I know not, have ever been very sparing in their applauses, and no other author has taken the least notice of me; so that did not my writings produce me some solid pudding, the great deficiency of praise would have quite discouraged me.

I concluded at length that the people were the best judges of my merit, for they buy my works; and besides, in my rambles, where I am not personally known I have frequently heard one or other of my adages repeated, with "as Poor Richard says" at the end of it. This gave me some satisfaction, as it showed not only that my instructions were regarded, but discovered likewise some respect for my authority; and I own that to encourage the practice of

remembering and repeating those sentences, I have sometimes quoted myself with great gravity.

Judge, then, how much I must have been gratified by an incident I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse lately where a great number of people were collected at a vendue of merchant's goods. The hour of sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times; and one of the company called to a plain, clean old man with white locks, "Pray, Father Abraham, what think you of the times? Won't these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we ever be able to pay them? What would you advise us to do?" Father Abraham stood up and replied: "If you would have my advice, I will give it you in short; for 'a word to the wise is enough,' and 'many words won't fill a bushel,' as Poor Richard says." They all joined, desiring him to speak his mind, and gathering round him he proceeded as follows:

Friends and neighbors, the taxes are indeed very heavy, and if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might the more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us. "God helps them that help themselves," as Poor Richard says in his almanac of 1733.

It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one-tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service, but idleness taxes many of us much more, if we reckon all that is spent in absolute sloth or doing of

nothing, with that which is spent in idle employments or amusements that amount to nothing. Sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life. "Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labor wears; while the used key is always bright," as Poor Richard says. "But dost thou love life? Then do not squander time, for that's the stuff life is made of," as Poor Richard says.

How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep, forgetting that "the sleeping fox catches no poultry," and that "there will be sleeping enough in the grave," as Poor Richard says. If time be of all things the most precious, "wasting of time must be," as Poor Richard says, "the greatest prodigality"; since, as he elsewhere tells us, "lost time is never found again," and what we call "time enough always proves little enough." Let us, then, up and be doing, and doing to the purpose; so by diligence shall we do more with less perplexity. "Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all things easy," as Poor Richard says; and "he that riseth late must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night; while laziness travels so slowly that poverty soon overtakes him," as we read in Poor Richard; who adds, "drive thy business! let not that drive thee!" and —

> "Early to bed and early to rise
> Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise."

So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times? We may make these times better if we bestir ourselves. "Industry need not wish," as Poor Richard says, and "he that lives on hope will die fasting."

* * * * * * *

But what madness must it be to run into debt for these superfluities! We are offered by the terms of this vendue

six months' credit; and that, perhaps, has induced some of us to attend it, because we cannot spare the ready money and hope now to be fine without it. But ah! think what you do when you run in debt: you give to another power over your liberty. If you cannot pay at the time you will be ashamed to see your creditor; you will be in fear when you speak to him; you will make poor, pitiful, sneaking excuses, and by degrees come to lose your veracity and sink into base, downright lying; for, as Poor Richard says, "the second vice is lying, the first is running into debt"; and again, to the same purpose, "lying rides upon debt's back"; whereas a free-born Englishman ought not to be ashamed or afraid to see or speak to any man living. But poverty often deprives a man of all spirit and virtue. "'Tis hard for an empty bag to stand upright!" as Poor Richard truly says. What would you think of a prince or a government that should issue an edict forbidding you to dress like a gentleman or gentlewoman, on pain of imprisonment or servitude? Would you not say that you are free, have a right to dress as you please, and that such an edict would be a breach of your privileges and such a government tyrannical? And yet you are about to put yourself under such tyranny when you run in debt for such dress! Your creditor has authority, at his pleasure, to deprive you of your liberty by confining you in jail for life or to sell you for a servant if you should not be able to pay him. When you have got your bargain you may, perhaps, think little of payment; but "creditors," Poor Richard tells us, "have better memories than debtors"; and in another place says, "creditors are a superstitious set, great observers of set days and times." The day comes round before you are aware, and the demand is made

before you are prepared to satisfy it; or, if you bear your debt in mind, the term which at first seemed so long will, as it lessens, appear extremely short. Time will seem to have added wings to his heels as well as his shoulders. "Those have a short Lent," saith Poor Richard, "who owe money to be paid at Easter." Then since, as he says, "the borrower is a slave to the lender and the debtor to the creditor," disdain the chain, preserve your freedom, and maintain your independency. Be industrious and free; be frugal and free. At present, perhaps, you may think yourself in thriving circumstances, and that you can bear a little extravagance without injury; but —

> "For age and want, save while you may;
> No morning sun lasts a whole day."

As Poor Richard says, gain may be temporary and uncertain; but ever while you live expense is constant and certain; and "'tis easier to build two chimneys than to keep one in fuel," as Poor Richard says; so, "rather go to bed supperless than rise in debt."

This doctrine, my friends, is reason and wisdom; but, after all, do not depend too much upon your own industry and frugality and prudence, though excellent things, for they may all be blasted without the blessing of Heaven; and therefore ask that blessing humbly, and be not uncharitable to those that at present seem to want it, but comfort and help them. Remember Job suffered and was afterward prosperous.

And now, to conclude, "experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other, and scarce in that"; for it is true, "we may give advice, but we cannot give conduct," as Poor Richard says. However, remember this: "they

that won't be counselled can't be helped," as Poor Richard says; and further, that "if you will not hear reason she'll surely rap your knuckles."

Thus the old gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it and approved the doctrine, and immediately practiced the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon. For the vendue opened and they began to buy extravagantly, notwithstanding all his cautions and their own fear of taxes. I found the good man had thoroughly studied my almanacs and digested all I had dropped on those topics during the course of twenty-five years. The frequent mention he made of me must have tired any one else; but my vanity was wonderfully delighted with it, though I was conscious that not a tenth part of the wisdom was my own which he ascribed to me, but rather the gleanings that I had made of the sense of all ages and nations. However, I resolved to be the better for the echo of it, and though I had at first determined to buy stuff for a new coat, I went away resolved to wear my old one a little longer. Reader, if thou wilt do the same, thy profit will be as great as mine. I am, as ever, thine to serve thee,

RICHARD SAUNDERS

OTHER MAXIMS OF POOR RICHARD

[Here are a few of Franklin's more popular sayings that do not occur in the foregoing selections from *Father Abraham's Speech*.]

1. Diligence is the mother of good luck.
2. One to-day is worth two to-morrows.
3. The cat in gloves catches no mice.
4. Constant dropping wears away stones.

5. Little strokes fell great oaks.
6. Fly pleasures and they will follow you.
7. Three removes are as bad as a fire.
8. A fat kitchen makes a lean will.
9. He that goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing.
10. He that hath a trade hath an estate.
11. Who has deceived thee so oft as thyself?
12. Three can keep a secret if two of them are dead.
13. Wealth is not his that has it, but his that enjoys it.
14. Want of care does more harm than want of knowledge.

SCIENCE AND BUSINESS

FRANKLIN THE SCIENTIST

[Franklin's greatest pleasure in life consisted in scientific research. He was a keen student of the ways of nature, and all his long life he delighted in making experiments with what he found. When he retired from the printing business, he wrote, "I flatter myself that I have secured leisure during the rest of my life for philosophical studies and amusements." During the next eight years he devoted himself to electricity, with the result that his fame as a scientist was once for all established both in Europe and America. Harvard, Yale, the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, and Oxford gave him honorary degrees. The Royal Society of London elected him to their fellowship of learned men.

The leisure, however, which Franklin had so eagerly anticipated, in 1757 came to an end. He was drafted by his city, by his state, and at last by the nation into service at home and abroad. For the last thirty-three years of his life, as statesman and diplomat, he traveled and wrote and labored in the cause of America. Even so, according to one biographer, "he was one of the foremost scientists of his day, and he might have been the greatest of all time, if politics and duties of public life had not claimed him and turned his energies into other channels."

So much has been written about Franklin's electrical achievements that his other scientific experiments and numberless useful inventions have been somewhat neglected. All his life he studied the problem — in his time a serious one — of smoky chimneys. He invented the famous stove that bears his name. He investigated the movement of winds in storms, and became a pioneer in the science of weather forecasting. He discovered the effect of oil on "the stilling of waves" in gales at sea. He experimented with the loading and handling of sailing vessels to gain the greatest speed. He was the first man to

make and use what are now known as bifocal glasses. "It was he," to quote from Ford, "who first suggested that the aurora was an electrical phenomenon. By means of little squares of different-colored cloths laid on the snow in a bright sunshiny morning he demonstrated the different effects of color as to heat. He studied and wrote upon sun-spots, shooting-stars, light, heat, fire, air, evaporation, the tides, rainfall, geology, the wind, whirlwinds, water-spouts, ventilation, sound, and a universal fluid or ether. He followed closely such mechanical developments as the balloon and the steam-boat, and even such minor ones as improvements in the method of manufacturing airpumps, guns, wheels, and clocks." [1]

Every one is familiar with Franklin's work with electricity. His kite and his lightning-rods are as well known as the sayings of Poor Richard. A whole volume could be made of his letters and essays on various electrical subjects. Here there is space for but two selections: the famous account of the kite, written in a letter to Peter Collinson, and a paragraph from another letter that shows how Franklin applied his scientific work to everyday life.]

THE ELECTRICAL KITE

[To Peter Collinson in London.]

Philadelphia, Oct. 19, 1752

SIR,

As frequent mention is made in public papers from Europe of the success of the Philadelphia experiment for drawing the electric fire from clouds by means of pointed rods of iron erected on high buildings, it may be agreeable to the curious to be informed that the same experiment has succeeded in Philadelphia, though made in a different and more easy manner, which is as follows:

Make a small cross of two light strips of cedar, the arms so long as to reach to the four corners of a large, thin silk

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[1] Paul Leicester Ford, *The Many-Sided Franklin*, page 383.

handkerchief when extended; tie the corners of the handkerchief to the extremities of the cross, so you have the body of a kite; which being properly accommodated with a tail, loop, and string, will rise in the air, like those made of paper; but this being of silk, is fitter to bear the wet and wind of a thunder-gust without tearing. To the top of the upright stick of the cross is to be fixed a very sharp-pointed wire, rising a foot or more above the wood. To the end of the twine, next the hand, is to be tied a silk ribbon, and where the silk and twine join, a key may be fastened.

This kite is to be raised when a thunder-gust appears to be coming on, and the person who holds the string must stand within a door or window, or under some cover, so that the silk ribbon may not be wet; and care must be taken that the twine does not touch the frame of the door or window. As soon as any of the thunder clouds come over the kite, the pointed wire will draw the electric fire from them, and the kite, with all the twine, will be electrified, and loose filaments of the twine will stand out every way and be attracted by an approaching finger. And when the rain has wet the kite and twine, so that it can conduct the electric fire freely, you will find it stream out plentifully from the key on the approach of your knuckle. At this key the phial may be charged; and from electric fire thus obtained, spirits may be kindled, and all the electric experiments be performed, which are usually done by the help of a rubbed glass globe or tube, and thereby the sameness of the electric matter with that of lightning completely demonstrated.

B. Franklin

Detroit Publishing Co.

ELECTRICITY FROM THE CLOUDS

AN ELECTRICAL PARTY

[From a letter written probably in 1753.]

It is proposed to put an end to our experiments for this season, somewhat humorously, in a party of pleasure on the banks of the Skuylkill. Spirits, at the same time, are to be fired by a spark sent from side to side through the river, without any other conductor than the water; an experiment which we some time since performed to the amazement of many. A turkey is to be killed for our dinner by electrical shock, and roasted by the electrical jack, before a fire kindled by the electrified bottle; when the healths of all the famous electricians in England, Holland, France, and Germany are to be drank in electrified bumpers, under the discharge of guns from the electrical battery.

THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

[As was to be expected, lively disputes concerning the new theory of lightning arose in England and America. The so-called "Philadelphia experiments" were ridiculed and denounced. When his friends urged him to defend his theories, he declined in words that reveal the breadth of mind and true scientific spirit of the man.]

I have never entered into any controversy in defense of my philosophical opinions; I leave them to take their chance in the world. If they are right, truth and experience will support them; if wrong, they ought to be refuted and rejected. Disputes are apt to sour one's temper, and disturb one's quiet. I have no private interest in the reception of my inventions by the world, having never made, nor proposed to make, the least profit by any of them.

NOTICES AND ADVERTISEMENTS

[Franklin's paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, contained many curious notices and advertisements inserted by the editor and printer. The first selection shows the variety of business carried on in his shop. The others either throw light upon eighteenth-century customs or reveal Franklin's sense of humor. The spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of these passages are just as Franklin wrote them.]

I

[The *Gazette* informed its readers from time to time that "the printer hereof" had for sale such merchandise as:]

Very good Sack at 6s per Gallon

Glaz'd Fulling-Papers and Bonnet-Papers

Very good Lampblack

Very good Chocolate

Linseed Oil

Very Good Coffee

Compasses and Scales

Seneka Rattlesnake Root, with directions how to use it in the Pleurisy, &c.

Dividers and Protractors

A very good second hand two-wheel chaise

A very neat, new fashion'd vehicle, or four wheel'd chaise, very convenient to carry weak or other sick persons old or young

Good Rhode Island Cheese and Cod Fish

Quadrants

Fore staffs

Mariners Compasses

Season'd Merchantable Boards

Coarse and fine edgings

Fine broad Scarlet Cloth, fine broad black Cloth, fine white Thread Hose, and English Sale Duck

Very good Iron Stoves
A Large Horse fit for a Chair or Saddle
The True and Genuine Godfrey's Cordial
Choice Bohea Tea
Very good English Saffron
New York Lottery Tickets
Choice Makrel to be sold by the Barrel
A Large Copper Still
Very good Spermacety
Fine Palm Oyl
Very good Temple Spectacles
A New Fishing Net [1]

II

Lent to Capt. Lawrie (and left by him in the Hands of some of his Acquaintance in Philadelphia) the second Volume of State Trials, wrote on the Title-Page, William Shaw. The Person who has it, is requested to bring it to the Printer hereof.

Lent, and forgot to whom, Wood's Institutes of the Laws of England, Folio. The Person that has it, is desired to return it to the Printer hereof.

Lent, but forgot to whom, the second Volume of Pamela; also the first Volume of the Turkish Spy. The persons that have them, are desired to send them to the Post-Office.

A Likely Servant Lad's Time to be disposed of. He is fit for Country or Town Business, has four Years to serve, and has been in the Country a Year and a Half. Enquire of the Printer.

To Be Sold. A Likely Servant Woman, having three Years and a half to Serve. She is a good Spinner.

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[1] From P. L. Ford's *The Many-Sided Franklin*, page 318.

To be Sold. A Likely servant lad, about 15 years of age, and has 6 years to serve.

To be Sold. A Prime able young Negro man, fit for laborious work, in town or country, that has had the small-pox: As also a middle aged Negro man, that has likewise had the smallpox. Enquire of the printer hereof: Or otherwise they will be expos'd to sale by publick vendue, on Saturday the 11th of April next, at 12 o'clock, at the Indian king, in Market-street.

III

Strayed, about two Months ago, from the Northern Liberties of this City, a small bay Mare, branded IW on the near Shoulder and Buttock. She being but little and barefooted, cannot be supposed to be gone far; therefore if any of the Town-Boys find her and bring her to the Subscriber, they shall, for their Trouble, have the Liberty to ride her when they please.

IV

When Mr. Bradford publishes after us, and has Occasion to take an Article or two out of the *Gazette*, which he is always welcome to do, he is desired not to date his Paper a Day before ours, (as last Week in the Case of the Letter containing Kelsey's Speech &c.) lest distant Readers should imagine we take from him, which we always carefully avoid.

V

Taken out of a pew in the Church, some months since, a Common Prayer Book, bound in red, gilt, and lettered D. F. on each cover. The person who took it is desired to open it, and read the Eighth Commandment, and afterwards return it into the same pew again; upon which no further notice will be taken.

LOVE OF SPORT AND FRESH AIR

FRANKLIN'S SKILL IN SWIMMING

[Swimming was Franklin's one great athletic achievement. He learned to swim in the mill pond near his father's house in Boston before he was nine years old, and continued to take this form of exercise until he was an old man of nearly eighty. In the *Autobiography* (page 64) he tells of "performing many feats of activity both upon and under water" in the Thames; and in his journal written at sea on August 6, 1726, he says, "In the afternoon I leaped overboard and swam round the ship to wash myself."

The three selections which follow give further glimpses of Franklin the swimmer.]

OARS FOR SWIMMING

[From a letter written in 1773 to Barbeu Dubourg.]

When I was a boy I made two oval palettes, each about ten inches long and six broad, with a hole for the thumb, in order to retain it fast in the palm of my hand. They much resembled a painter's palettes. In swimming I pushed the edges of these forward, and I struck the water with their flat surfaces as I drew them back. I remember I swam faster by means of these palettes, but they fatigued my wrists.

ANOTHER USE FOR A KITE

[From the same.]

I amused myself one day with flying a paper kite; and approaching the bank of a pond, which was near a mile broad, I tied the string to a stake and the kite ascended to a very considerable height above the pond while I was

swimming. In a little time, being desirous of amusing myself with my kite, and enjoying at the same time the pleasure of swimming, I returned, and loosing from the stake the string with the little stick which was fastened to it, went again into the water, where I found that, lying on my back and holding the stick in my hands, I was drawn along the surface of the water in a very agreeable manner. Having then engaged another boy to carry my clothes round the pond, to a place which I pointed out to him on the other side, I began to cross the pond with my kite, which carried me quite over without the least fatigue and with the greatest pleasure imaginable. I was only obliged occasionally to halt a little in my course and resist its progress when it appeared that, by following too quick, I lowered the kite too much; by doing which occasionally I made it rise again. I have never since that time practised this singular mode of swimming, though I think it not impossible to cross in this manner from Dover to Calais. The packet-boat, however, is still preferable.

NAPPING AFLOAT

[From Franklin's Journal under date of July 25, 1785.]

I went at noon to bathe in the Martin salt water hot bath, and floating on my back, fell asleep, and slept near an hour by my watch without sinking or turning, a thing I never did before and should hardly have thought possible. Water is the easiest bed that can be.

FRESH AIR AND COLDS

[Franklin was keenly interested in the questions of exercise, perspiration, fresh air, and colds. All his life he studied them and wrote about them. Of him James Parton says: "He was the first effective preacher of the blessed gospel of ventilation."

The anecdote which follows was related by John Adams, the second president of the United States. The incident occurred in 1776, when Adams was forty-one and Franklin seventy years old.]

SLEEPING WITH THE WINDOWS OPEN

"At Brunswick, but one bed could be procured for Dr. Franklin and me, in a chamber little larger than the bed, without a chimney, and with only one small window. The window was open, and I who was an invalid and afraid of the air of night, shut it close. 'Oh,' says Franklin, 'don't shut the window, we shall be suffocated.' I answered I was afraid of the evening air. Dr. Franklin replied, 'The air within this chamber will soon be, and indeed is now, worse than that without doors. Come, open the window and come to bed, and I will convince you: I believe you are not acquainted with my theory of colds?' Opening the window, and leaping into bed, I said I had read his letters to Dr. Cooper, in which he had advanced, that nobody ever got cold by going into a cold church or any other cold air, but the theory was so little consistent with my experience, that I thought it a paradox. However, I had so much curiosity to hear his reasons that I would run the risk of a cold. The Doctor then began a harangue upon air and cold, and respiration and perspiration, with which I was so much amused that I soon fell asleep, and left him and his philosophy together, but I believe they were equally sound and insensible within a few minutes after me, for the last words I heard were pronounced as if he was more than half asleep. I remember little of the lecture, except that the human body, by respiration and perspiration, destroys a gallon of air in a minute; that two such persons as were now in that chamber, would consume

all the air in it in an hour or two; that by breathing over again the matter thrown off by the lungs and the skin, we should imbibe the real cause of colds, not from abroad, but from within."

THE CAUSE OF COLDS

I have long been satisfied from observation, that besides the general colds now termed influenzas (which may possibly spread by contagion, as well as by a particular quality of the air), people often catch cold from one another when shut up together in close rooms and coaches, and when sitting near and conversing so as to breathe in each other's transpiration; the disorder being in a certain state. I think, too, that it is the frouzy, corrupt air from animal substances, and the perspired matter from our bodies, which being long confined in beds not lately used, and clothes not lately worn, and books long shut up in close rooms, obtains that kind of putridity which occasions the colds observed upon sleeping in, wearing, and turning over such bedclothes or books, and not their coldness or dampness. From these causes, but more from too full living, with too little exercise, proceed, in my opinion, most of the disorders which, for about one hundred and fifty years past, the English have called colds.

THE COLD AIR BATH

[From a letter written in London in 1768 to Dr. Dubourg in Paris.]

You know the cold bath has long been in vogue here as a tonic; but the shock of the cold water has always appeared to me, generally speaking, as too violent, and I have found it much more agreeable to my constitution to bathe in another element, I mean cold air. With this view I rise

almost every morning and sit in my chamber, without any clothes whatever, half an hour or an hour, according to the season, either reading or writing. This practice is not in the least painful, but, on the contrary, agreeable; and if I return to bed afterwards, before I dress myself, as sometimes happens, I make a supplement to my night's rest of one or two hours of the most pleasing sleep that can be imagined. I find no ill consequences whatever resulting from it, and that at least it does not injure my health, if it does not in fact contribute much to its preservation. I shall therefore call it for the future a bracing or tonic bath.

WIT AND WISDOM

QUESTIONS FOR THE JUNTO

[When Franklin established the Junto in 1728, he made out a list of twenty-four questions to be put to members for the purpose of obtaining subjects for debate. The following ten are typical of them all.]

1. Have you met with anything in the author you last read, remarkable, or suitable to be communicated to the Junto? Particularly in history, morality, poetry, physic, travels, mechanic arts, or other parts of knowledge?

2. What new story have you lately heard, agreeable for telling in conversation?

3. Hath any citizen in your knowledge failed in his business lately, and what have you heard of the cause?

4. Have you lately heard of any citizen's thriving well, and by what means?

5. Have you lately heard how any present rich man, here or elsewhere, got his estate?

6. Do you know of a fellow-citizen who has lately done a worthy action, deserving praise and imitation?

7. Have you, or any of your acquaintance, been lately sick or wounded? If so, what remedies were used, and what were their effects?

8. Do you think of anything at present in which the Junto may be serviceable to mankind, to their country, to their friends, or to themselves?

9. Hath any deserving stranger arrived in town, since last meeting, that you heard of? And what have you heard or observed of his character or merits? And whether, think you, it lies in the power of the Junto to oblige him, or encourage him as he deserves?

10. Do you know of any deserving young beginner lately set up, whom it lies in the power of the Junto any way to encourage?

MY PLAIN COUNTRY JOAN

[The graver pursuits of the Junto were sometimes varied with music and song. The following verses were composed for one of the meetings by Franklin.]

Of their Chloes and Phyllises poets may prate,
I sing my plain country Joan,
These twelve years my wife, still the joy of my life, —
Blest day that I made her my own!

Not a word of her face, of her shape, or her air,
Or of flames, or of darts, you shall hear;
I beauty admire, but virtue I prize,
That fades not in seventy year.

Am I loaded with care, she takes off a large share,
That the burden ne'er makes me to reel;
Does good fortune arrive, the joy of my wife
Quite doubles the pleasure I feel.

She defends my good name, even when I'm to blame,
Firm friend as to man e'er was given;
Her compassionate breast feels for all the distressed,
Which draws down more blessings from heaven.

In health a companion delightful and dear,
Still easy, engaging, and free;
In sickness no less than the carefulest nurse,
As tender as tender can be.

In peace and good order my household she guides,
Right careful to save what I gain;
Yet cheerfully spends, and smiles on the friends
I've the pleasure to entertain.

Some faults have we all, and so has my Joan,
But then they're exceedingly small,
And, now I'm grown used to them, so like my own,
I scarcely can see them at all.

Were the finest young princess, with millions in purse,
To be had in exchange for my Joan,
I could not get a better, but might get a worse,
So I'll stick to my dearest old Joan.

THE WONDERS OF AMERICA

[This is a selection from Franklin's famous satire on the misinformation which the British press then printed about nearly everything in the colonies.]

Dear Sir, do not let us suffer ourselves to be amused with such groundless objections. The very tails of the American sheep are so laden with wool, that each has a little car or wagon on four little wheels to support and keep it from trailing on the ground. Would they caulk their ships; would they even litter their horses with wool, if it were not both plenty and cheap? . . . And yet all this is as certainly true as the account, said to be from Quebec, in

all the papers of last week, that the inhabitants of Canada are making preparations for a cod and whale fishery this summer in the upper lakes. Ignorant people may object that the upper lakes are fresh, and that cod and whales are salt water fish, but let them know, Sir, that cod, like other fish, when attacked by their enemies, fly into any water where they can be safest; that whales, when they have a mind to eat cod, pursue them wherever they fly, and that the grand leap of the whale in the chase up the Falls of Niagara is esteemed by all who have seen it as one of the finest spectacles in nature.

A PARABLE ON PERSECUTION

[Franklin often spoke of this parable as "the fifty-first chapter of the book of Genesis." It was evidently a favorite with him, for he presented copies in his own handwriting to several friends, and often in company he would recite it, with an open Bible in his hand, as if reading, in order that he might hear the comments of his astonished audience who wondered how it had been possible for them to overlook so interesting a chapter of the Old Testament.

The parable was not original with Franklin, and was never claimed by him as such. He adapted it and worked it over from an old English story, much as he did the proverbs in his almanac. Its origin has been traced to the *Bustān* by the Persian poet Saadi who lived in the thirteenth century. Franklin made his version probably in 1774.]

1. And it came to pass, after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent about the going down of the sun.

2. And behold a man, bowed with age, came from the way of the wilderness, leaning on a staff.

3. And Abraham rose and met him, and said, "Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night, and thou shalt arise early in the morning and go on thy way."

4. But the man said, "Nay, for I will abide under this tree."

5. And Abraham pressed him greatly; so he turned, and they went into the tent, and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat.

6. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, "Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, creator of heaven and earth?"

7. And the man answered and said, "I do not worship the God thou speakest of, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myself a god, which abideth always in my house, and provideth me with all things."

8. And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness.

9. And at midnight God called upon Abraham, saying, "Abraham, where is the stranger?"

10. And Abraham answered and said, "Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore I have driven him out before my face into the wilderness."

11. And God said, "Have I borne with him these hundred ninety and eight years, and clothed him, not withstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, that art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night?"

A MOTION FOR PRAYERS

[A selection from Franklin's motion for prayers in the convention which in 1787 was working on the Constitution of the United States.]

Mr. President, — The small progress we have made, after four or five weeks' close attendance, and continual

reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many noes as ayes, is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. . . . In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the Divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard, — and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend? or do we imagine we no longer need its assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? . . . I therefore beg leave to move —

That henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessings upon our deliberation, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

A CURIOUS EPITAPH

[Written, it is believed, during a severe illness in the winter of 1727 soon after Franklin went to work for Mr. Denham. This epitaph was not used on his gravestone. See page 283.]

THE BODY
OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
PRINTER,
(LIKE THE COVER OF AN OLD BOOK,
ITS CONTENTS TORN OUT,
AND STRIPT OF ITS LETTERING AND GILDING,)
LIES HERE, FOOD FOR WORMS.
BUT THE WORK SHALL NOT BE LOST,
FOR IT WILL (AS HE BELIEVED) APPEAR ONCE MORE,
IN A NEW AND MORE ELEGANT EDITION,
REVISED AND CORRECTED
BY
THE AUTHOR.

A DIALOGUE WITH THE GOUT

[Written at Passy and sent by Franklin to one of his French friends who had prescribed drugs to allay his suffering. The gout is a painful disease of the joints, especially of the feet, and generally attacks those who for many years live too well and exercise too little.]

Midnight, October 22, 1780

Franklin. Eh! oh! eh! What have I done to merit these cruel sufferings?

Gout. Many things: you have ate and drank too freely, and too much indulged those legs of yours in their indolence.

Franklin. Who is it that accuses me?

Gout. It is I, even I, the Gout.

Franklin. What! my enemy in person?

Gout. No, not your enemy.

Franklin. I repeat it: my enemy; for you would not only torment my body to death, but ruin my good name; you reproach me as a glutton and a tippler; now all the world, that knows me, will allow that I am neither the one nor the other.

Gout. The world may think as it pleases; it is always very complaisant to itself, and sometimes to its friends; but I very well know that the quantity of meat and drink proper for a man who takes a reasonable degree of exercise would be too much for another who never takes any.

Franklin. I take — eh! oh! — as much exercise — eh! — as I can, Madam Gout. You know my sedentary state, and on that account, it would seem, Madam Gout, as if

you might spare me a little, seeing it is not altogether my own fault.

Gout. Not a jot; your rhetoric and your politeness are thrown away; your apology avails nothing. If your situation in life is a sedentary one, your amusements, your recreations, at least, should be active. You ought to walk or ride, or if the weather prevents that, play at billiards.

State Street Trust Co., Boston

FRANKLIN'S HOUSE AT PASSY

It was here that he made his first balloon experiments.

But let us examine your course of life. While the mornings are long, and you have leisure to go abroad, what do you do? Why, instead of gaining an appetite for breakfast by salutary exercise, you amuse yourself with books, pamphlets, or newspapers, which commonly are not worth the reading. Yet you eat an inordinate breakfast, — four dishes of tea, with cream, and one or two buttered toasts, with slices of hung beef, which, I fancy, are not things the

most easily digested. Immediately afterward you sit down to write at your desk, or converse with persons who apply to you on business. Thus the time passes till one, without any kind of bodily exercise.

But all this I could pardon, in regard, as you say, to your sedentary condition. But what is your practice after dinner? Walking in the beautiful gardens of those friends with whom you have dined, would be the choice of a man of sense; yours is to be fixed down to chess, where you are found engaged for two or three hours! This is your perpetual recreation, which is the least eligible of any for a sedentary man, because, instead of accelerating the motion of the fluids, the rigid attention it requires helps to retard the circulation and obstruct internal secretions. Wrapt in the speculations of this wretched game, you destroy your constitution. What can be expected from such a course of living, but a body replete with stagnant humors, ready to fall a prey to all kinds of dangerous maladies, if I, the Gout, did not occasionally bring you relief by agitating those humors, and so purifying or dissipating them? If it was in some nook or alley in Paris, deprived of walks, that you played awhile at chess after dinner, this might be excusable; but the same taste prevails with you in Passy, Auteuil, Montmartre, or Savoy, — places where there are the finest gardens and walks, a pure air, beautiful women, and most agreeable and instructive conversation; all of which you might enjoy by frequenting the walks. But these are rejected for this abominable game of chess. Fie, then, Mr. Franklin! But, amidst my instructions, I had almost forgot to administer my wholesome corrections; so take that twinge, — and that!

Franklin. Oh! eh! oh! ohhh! As much instruction

as you please, Madam Gout, and as many reproaches; but pray, madam, a truce with your corrections!

Gout. No, sir, no: I will not abate a particle of what is so much for your good, — therefore —

Franklin. Oh! ehhh! — It is not fair to say I take no exercise, when I do very often, going out to dine, and returning in my carriage.

Gout. That, of all imaginable exercises, is the most slight and insignificant, if you allude to the motion of a carriage suspended on springs. By observing the degree of heat obtained by different kinds of motion, we may form an estimate of the quantity of exercise given by each. Thus, for example, if you turn out to walk in winter with cold feet, in an hour's time you will be in a glow all over; ride on horseback, the same effect will scarcely be perceived by four hours' round trotting; but if you loll in a carriage, such as you have mentioned, you may travel all day, and gladly enter the last inn to warm your feet by the fire. Flatter yourself then no longer that half an hour's airing in your carriage deserves the name of exercise. Providence has appointed few to roll in carriages, while he has given to all a pair of legs, which are machines infinitely more commodious and serviceable.

* * * * * * *

Franklin. Your reasonings grow very tiresome.

Gout. I stand corrected. I will be silent and continue my office; take that, and that.

Franklin. Oh! ohh! Talk on, I pray you!

Gout. No, no; I have a good number of twinges for you to-night, and you may be sure of some more to-morrow.

Franklin. What, with such a fever! I shall go distracted. Oh! eh! Can no one bear it for me?

Gout. Ask that of your horses; they have served you faithfully.

Franklin. How can you so cruelly sport with my torments?

Gout. Sport! I am very serious. I have here a list of offences against your own health distinctly written, and can justify every stroke inflicted on you.

Franklin. Read it, then.

Gout. It is too long a detail; but I will briefly mention some particulars.

Franklin. Proceed. I am all attention.

Gout. Do you remember how often you have promised yourself the following morning a walk in the grove of Boulogne, in the Garden de la Muette, or in your own garden and have violated your promise, alleging at one time it was too cold, at another too warm, too windy, too moist, or what else you pleased; when in truth it was too nothing but your inseparable love of ease?

Franklin. That, I confess, may have happened occasionally; probably ten times in a year.

Gout. Your confession is very far short of the truth; the gross amount is one hundred and ninety-nine times.

Franklin. Is it possible?

Gout. So possible that it is fact; you may rely on the accuracy of my statement. You know M. Brillon's gardens, and what fine walks they contain; you know the handsome flight of an hundred steps, which lead from the terrace above to the lawn below. You have been in the practice of visiting this amiable family twice a week after dinner, and it is a maxim of your own, that "a man may take as much exercise in walking a mile, up and down stairs, as in ten on level ground." What an opportunity

was here for you to have had exercise in both these ways! Did you embrace it, and how often?

Franklin. I cannot immediately answer that question.

Gout. I will do it for you. Not once.

Franklin. Not once?

Gout. Even so. During the summer you went there at six o'clock. You found the charming lady with her lovely children and friends, eager to walk with you and entertain you with their agreeable conversation; and what has been your choice? Why, to sit on the terrace, satisfy yourself with the fine prospect, and passing your eye over the beauties of the garden below, without taking one step to descend and walk about in them. On the contrary, you call for tea and the chessboard; and lo! you are occupied in your seat till nine o'clock, and that besides two hours' play after dinner; and then, instead of walking home, which would have bestirred you a little, you step into your carriage. How absurd to suppose that all this carelessness can be reconcilable with health, without my interposition!

Franklin. I am convinced now of the justness of Poor Richard's remark, that "Our debts and our sins are always greater than we think for."

Gout. So it is. You philosophers are sages in your maxims, and fools in your conduct.

Franklin. But do you charge among my crimes that I return in a carriage from M. Brillon's?

Gout. Certainly; for, having been seated all the while, you cannot object the fatigue of the day, and cannot want, therefore, the relief of a carriage.

Franklin. What, then, would you have me do with my carriage?

Gout. Burn it if you choose: you would at least get heat out of it once in this way; or, if you dislike that proposal, here's another for you: observe the poor peasants, who work in the vineyards and grounds about the villages of Passy, Auteuil, Chaillot, etc. You may find every day among these deserving creatures, four or five old men and women, bent and perhaps crippled by weight of years and too long and too great labor. After a most fatiguing day, these people have to trudge a mile or two to their smoky huts. Order your coachman to set them down. This is an act that will be good for your soul; and at the same time after your visit to the Brillons, if you return on foot, that will be good for your body.

Franklin. Ah! how tiresome you are!

Gout. Well, then, to my office; it should not be forgotten that I am your physician. There!

Franklin. Oh-h-h! What a devil of a physician!

Gout. How ungrateful you are to say so! Is it not I who, in the character of your physician, have saved you from the palsy, dropsy, and apoplexy one or other of which would have done for you long ago, but for me?

Franklin. I submit, and thank you for the past, but entreat the discontinuance of your visits for the future; for, in my mind, one had better die than be cured so dolefully. Permit me just to hint that I have also not been unfriendly to you. I never feed physician or quack of any kind, to enter the list against you; if then you do not leave me to my repose, it may be said you are ungrateful too.

Gout. I can scarcely acknowledge that as an objection. As to quacks, I despise them; they may kill you indeed, but cannot injure me. And, as to regular physicians, they are at last convinced that the gout, in such a subject

as you are, is no disease, but a remedy; and wherefore cure a remedy? — But to our business; there!

Franklin. Oh! oh! — for Heaven's sake leave me, and I promise faithfully never more to play at chess, but to take exercise daily and live temperately.

Gout. I know you too well. You promise fair; but after a few months of good health you will return to your old habits; your fine promises will be forgotten like the forms of the last year's clouds. Let us then finish the account, and I will go. But I leave you with an assurance of visiting you again at a proper time and place; for my object is your good, and you are sensible now that I am your real friend.

HIS WILL

[Franklin's will in many ways is one of the most remarkable documents that he ever composed. The few extracts here given show the genius of the man for doing good even after death.

The will, which was drawn in 1788 when Franklin was eighty-two years old, begins with these characteristic words :]

I, Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia, printer, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France, now President of the State of Pennsylvania, do make and declare my last will and testament as follows:

[Though Franklin had been taken from school by his father at the age of ten, and although he ran away from Boston when seventeen, in his old age he looked back upon his early days in New England with tender affection. In his will he says :]

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or by those person or persons, who shall have the superintendence and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest forever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools belonging to the said town, in such

manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet.

[The provision of this bequest has been faithfully carried out. At the graduation exercises in June in the Boys' English High and Latin Schools of Boston silver medals are awarded to members of the senior class who have attained high rank. On one side of the medal is the seal of the city of Boston; on the other is the profile of Benjamin Franklin. Though the exact form of the prize has been altered from time to time, medals have been awarded, so far as is known, every year since the death of their donor. Today, as for more than a century, they are considered the highest and most enviable honor that a Boston boy can receive.

Franklin had declined to accept any salary from the state of Pennsylvania during the three years that he was governor. In the codicil of his will he directed that the certificates of the pay due him be "sold towards raising the Sum of Two thousand Pounds Sterling," which he then bequeathed in these terms to the two American cities in which he had lived:]

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in Literature, to the free Grammar Schools established there: I have therefore already considered those Schools in my Will. But I am also under obligations to the State of Massachusetts, for having unasked appointed me formerly their Agent in England with a handsome Salary: which continued some years; and altho' I accidentally lost, in their service, by transmitting Governor Hutchinson's Letter much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the least to diminish my Gratitude.

I have considered that among Artisans good Apprentices are most likely to make good Citizens, and having myself been bred to a manual Art, Printing, in my native Town and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by the kind loan of Money from two Friends there,

which was the foundation of my Fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful even after my Death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men that may be serviceable to their Country in both those Towns.

To this End I devote Two thousand Pounds Sterling, which I give, one thousand thereof to the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, in Trust to and for the Uses, Interests, and Purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared.

The said sum of One thousand Pounds Sterling, if accepted by the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the Select Men, united with the Ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in that Town; who are to let out the same upon Interest at five per cent per Annum to such young married artificers, under the Age of twenty-five years, as have served an Apprenticeship in the said Town; and faithfully fulfilled the Duties required in their Indentures, so as to obtain a good moral Character from at least two respectable Citizens, who are willing to become their Sureties in a Bond with the Applicants for the Repayment of the Monies so lent with Interest according to the Terms hereinafter prescribed. . . .

And as it is presumed that there will always be found in Boston virtuous and benevolent Citizens willing to bestow a part of their Time in doing good to the rising Generation by Superintending and managing this Institution gratis, it is hoped that no part of the Money will at any time lie dead or be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the Interest, in which case there may in

time be more than the occasions in Boston shall require and then some may be spared to their Neighboring or other Towns in the said State of Massachusetts who may desire to have it, such Towns engaging to pay punctually the Interest and the Portions of the principal annually to the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston.

If this Plan is executed and succeeds as projected without interruption for one hundred Years, the Sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand Pounds of which I would have the Managers of the Donation to the Town of Boston, then lay out at their discretion one hundred thousand Pounds in Public Works which may be judged of most general utility to the Inhabitants such as Fortifications, Bridges, Aqueducts, Public Building, Baths, Pavements or whatever may make living in the Town more convenient to its people and render it more agreeable to strangers, resorting thither for Health or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand Pounds, I would have continued to be let out on Interest in the manner above directed for another hundred Years, as I hope it will have been found that the Institution has had a good effect on the conduct of Youth, and been of Service to many worthy Characters and useful Citizens. At the end of this second Term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation the sum will be Four Millions and Sixty-one thousand Pounds Sterling, of which I leave one Million sixty-one Thousand Pounds to the Disposition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, and Three Millions to the disposition of the Government of the State, not presuming to carry my views farther. . . .

Considering the accidents to which all human Affairs and Projects are subject in such a length of Time, I have

perhaps too much flattered myself with a vain Fancy, that these Dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption, and have the Effects proposed: I hope, however, that if the Inhabitants of the two Cities should not think fit to undertake the execution they will at least accept the offer of these Donations as a Mark of my good-Will, a token of my Gratitude and a Testimony of my earnest desire to be useful to them even after my departure.

[The far-sighted wisdom of Franklin's gifts may be seen from what has taken place in Boston. His native city accepted the bequest of one thousand pounds and invested it prudently. In 1891, or a hundred years after beginning to draw interest, it amounted to $391,168.68. At that time $72,000 was set aside to grow for another century. With $319,000 the city erected the fine modern building of the Franklin Union, an industrial school and technical institute in which, since its opening in September, 1908, over twenty-six thousand men have been enrolled as students. It is also an interesting fact that the first donation toward the maintenance fund of "Franklin's nineteenth century gift to Boston" came from another great American philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie.

Meanwhile the $72,000 is steadily growing. On September 30, 1927, it amounted to $448,178.26. By 1990 it will have increased to well beyond two million dollars. Then another splendid civic improvement will come to Boston. And so on through the centuries Benjamin Franklin will continue to make bequests to his native city with the passing of each hundred years.

Here, without any further comment, are a few of his private bequests.]

To my son, William Franklin, late Governor of the Jerseys, I give and devise all the lands I hold or have a right to in the Province of Nova Scotia, to hold to him, his heirs and assigns for ever. I also give to him all my books and papers, which he has in his possession, and all

debts standing against him on my account-books, willing that no payment for, nor restitution of, the same be required of him by my executors. The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavored to deprive me of.

All the lands near the Ohio, and the lots near the centre of Philadelphia, which I lately purchased of the State, I give to my son-in-law, Richard Bache, his heirs and assigns for ever. I also give him the bond I have against him, of two thousand one hundred and seventy-two pounds, five shillings, together with the interest that shall or may accrue thereon, and direct the same to be delivered up to him by my executors cancelled, requesting that, in consideration thereof, he would immediately after my decease manumit and set free his negro man Bob.

The King of France's picture, set with four hundred and eight diamonds, I give to my daughter, Sarah Bache, requesting, however, that she would not form any of those diamonds into ornaments, either for herself or daughters, and thereby introduce or countenance the expensive, vain, and useless fashion of wearing jewels in this country; and that those immediately connected with the picture may be preserved with the same.

I give and devise to my dear sister, Jane Mecom, a house and lot I have in Unity Street, Boston, now or late under the care of Mr. Jonathan Williams, to her and to her heirs and assigns for ever. I also give her the yearly sum of fifty pounds sterling, during life, to commence at my death, and to be paid to her annually out of the interest or dividends arising on twelve shares, which I have, since my arrival at Philadelphia, purchased in the Bank of North America.

I give the right I have to take up three thousand acres of land in the State of Georgia, granted to me by the government of that State, to my grandson, William Temple Franklin, his heirs and assigns for ever.

The philosophical instruments I have in Philadelphia I give to my ingenious friend, Francis Hopkinson.

I give to my grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, all the types and printing materials, which I now have in Philadelphia, with the complete letter foundery, which, in the whole, I suppose to be worth near one thousand pounds; but, if he should die under age, and without children, then I do order the same to be sold by my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, and the moneys thence arising to be equally divided among all the rest of my said daughter's children or their representatives.

My fine crabtree walking-stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, General Washington. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it and would become it. It was a present to me from that excellent woman, Madame de Forbach, the Dowager Duchess of Deux-Ponts, connected with some verses, which should go with it.

I wish to be buried by the side of my wife, if it may be, and that a marble stone, to be made by Chambers, six feet long, four feet wide, plain, with only a small moulding round the upper edge, and this inscription,

BENJAMIN
AND } FRANKLIN
DEBORAH

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to be placed over us both.

SELECTED LETTERS

[In his *Great American Writers* Professor Trent says, "Franklin's humor, knowledge of the world, frankness of disposition, and command of a clear unpedantic style made him one of the best letter-writers of an age supreme in the annals of epistolary literature in English. His private correspondence should be neglected by no one who cares for good letters."

Nearly sixteen hundred of Franklin's letters have been printed in various editions of his works. They cover a multitude of subjects, from family gossip to religion, politics, and science. In them are found practically all we know of his experiments with electricity.

The letters that follow are selected because of the interest which they still have for us to-day.]

A PRESENT FOR HIS SISTER

[To Jane Franklin, Benjamin's favorite sister. Many of his most interesting letters, covering a period of sixty years, were addressed to her in Boston.

The letter that follows Franklin wrote on his twentieth birthday, three years after going to Philadelphia. His sister Jane was then fifteen.]

Philadelphia, 6 January, 1726–7

DEAR SISTER: I am highly pleased with the account Captain Freeman gives me of you. I always judged by your behavior when a child, that you would make a good, agreeable woman, and you know you were ever my peculiar favorite. I have been thinking what would be a suitable present for me to make, and for you to receive, as I hear you are grown a celebrated beauty. I had almost determined on a tea-table; but when I considered that the character of a good housewife was far preferable to that of being only a pretty gentlewoman, I concluded to send you a spinning-

wheel, which I hope you will accept as a small token of my sincere love and affection.

Sister, farewell, and remember that modesty, as it makes the most homely virgin amiable and charming, so the want of it infallibly renders the most perfect beauty disagreeable and odious. But when that brightest of female virtues shines among other perfections of body and mind in the same person it makes the woman more lovely than an angel. Excuse this freedom, and use the same with me.

I am, dear Jenny, your loving brother,

B. Franklin

FAMILY NEWS

[To his mother in Boston, then eighty-two years old.]

Philadelphia, ——, 1749

Honored Mother:

We received your kind letter of the 2d instant, by which we are glad to hear you still enjoy such a measure of health notwithstanding your great age. We read your writing very easily. I never met with a word in your letters but what I could easily understand, for, though the hand is not always the best, the sense makes everything plain. My leg, which you enquire after, is now quite well. I shall keep these servants; but the man not in my own house. I have hired him out to the man that takes care of my Dutch printing-office, who agrees to keep him in victuals and clothes, and to pay me a dollar a week for his work.

Sally grows a fine girl, and is extremely industrious with her needle and delights in her work. She is of a most affectionate temper and perfectly dutiful and obliging to her parents, and to all. Perhaps I flatter myself too much, but I have hopes that she will prove an ingenious, sensible,

notable, and worthy woman, like her aunt Jenny. She goes now to the dancing-school.

For my own part, at present I pass my time agreeably enough. I enjoy through mercy a tolerable share of health. I read a great deal, ride a little, do a little business for myself, now and then for others, retire when I can, and go into company when I please; so the years roll round, and the last will come, when I would rather have it said he lived usefully, than he died rich.

Most affectionately, your son,

B. Franklin

GOOD WORKS

[To the Reverend George Whitefield, whose visits to Philadelphia are described on pages 129–134 of the *Autobiography*. The substance of this letter appears again and again in Franklin's correspondence.]

Philadelphia, June 6, 1753

Sir: I received your kind letter of the 2d instant, and am glad to hear that you increase in strength; I hope you will continue mending, till you recover your former health and firmness. Let me know whether you still use the cold bath, and what effect it has.

As to the kindness you mention, I wish it could have been of more service to you. But, if it had, the only thanks I should desire is that you would always be equally ready to serve any other person that may need your assistance, and so let good offices go round; for mankind are all of a family.

For my own part, when I am employed in serving others, I do not look upon myself as conferring favors, but as paying debts. In my travels, and since my settlement, I have received much kindness from men to whom I shall

never have any opportunity of making the least direct return; and numberless mercies from God, who is infinitely above being benefited by our services. Those kindnesses from men I can, therefore, only return on their fellow-men; and I can only show my gratitude for these mercies from God by a readiness to help his other children and my brethren. For, I do not think that thanks and compliments, though repeated weekly, can discharge our real obligations to each other, and much less those to our Creator.

You will see in this my notion of good works. . . .

I wish to you health and happiness; being

B. FRANKLIN

NEWS FROM THE FRONT

[To his wife, Deborah Franklin, in the humorous, half-playful tone in which many of his letters to her were written.

Franklin's adventures on the frontier are recorded on pages 183–188 of the *Autobiography*.]

Gnadenhutten, 25 January, 1756

MY DEAR CHILD: This day week we arrived here. I wrote to you the same day, and once since. We all continue well, thanks be to God. We have been hindered with bad weather, yet our fort is in a good defensible condition, and we have every day more convenient living. Two more are to be built, one on each side of this, at about fifteen miles' distance. I hope both will be done in a week or ten days, and then I purpose to bend my course homewards.

We have enjoyed your roast beef, and this day began on the roast veal. All agree that they are both the best that ever were of the kind. Your citizens, that have their dinner hot and hot, know nothing of good eating. We

find it in much greater perfection when the kitchen is fourscore miles from the dining-room.

The apples are extremely welcome, and do bravely to eat after our salt pork; the minced pies are not yet come to hand, but I suppose we shall find them among the things expected up from Bethlehem on Tuesday; the capillaire is excellent, but, none of us having taken cold as yet, we have only tasted it.

As to our lodging, 'tis on deal feather-beds, in warm blankets, and much more comfortable than when we lodged at our inn, the first night after we left home; for the woman being about to put very damp sheets on the bed, we desired her to air them first; half an hour afterwards she told us the bed was ready, and the sheets well aired. I got into bed, but jumped out immediately, finding them as cold as death, and partly frozen. She had aired them indeed, but it was out upon the hedge. I was forced to wrap myself up in great-coat and woolen trousers. Everything else about the bed was shockingly dirty.

As I hope in a little time to be with you and my family, and chat things over, I now only add, that I am, dear Debby,

Your affectionate husband, B. Franklin

A PLEASANT REBUKE

[To his wife. Easton was then a small frontier town fifty miles from Philadelphia.]

Easton, Saturday morning, Nov. 13, 1756

My dear Child: I wrote to you a few days since, by a special messenger, and enclosed letters for all our wives

and sweethearts, expecting to hear from you by his return, and to have the northern newspapers and English letters, per the packet; but he is just now returned without a scrap for poor us. So I had a good mind not to write to you by this opportunity; but I never can be ill-natured enough, even when there is the most occasion. The messenger says he left the letters at your house, and saw you afterwards at Mr. Dentie's and told you when he would go, and that he lodged at Honey's, next door to you, and yet you did not write; so let Goody Smith give one more just judgment, and say what should be done to you; I think I won't tell you that we are well, nor that we expect to return about the middle of the week, nor will I send you a word of news; that's poz. My duty to mother, love to the children, and to Miss Betsey and Gracey, &c. &c.

B. FRANKLIN

P. S. — I have scratched out the loving words, being writ in haste, by mistake, when I forgot I was angry.

ADVICE ON READING

[To Mary Stevenson. It was with her mother at 7 Craven Street that Franklin had lodgings from 1757 to 1762, and again from 1764 to 1775. For Mary Stevenson, or "Polly," he formed a strong attachment which continued all his life. His letters to her as a girl, and later when she was the wife of Dr. Hewson of Philadelphia, are among the finest he wrote.]

Craven-street, May 16, 1760

I SEND my good girl the books I mentioned to her last night. I beg her to accept of them as a small mark of my esteem and friendship. They are written in the familiar, easy manner for which the French are so remarkable, and

afford a good deal of philosophic and practical knowledge, unembarrassed with the dry mathematics used by more exact reasoners, but which is apt to discourage young beginners.

I would advise you to read with a pen in your hand, and enter in a little book short hints of what you find that is curious, or that may be useful; for this will be the best method of imprinting such particulars in your memory, where they will be ready, either for practice on some future occasion, if they are matters of utility, or, at least, to adorn and improve your conversation, if they are rather points of curiosity; and, as many of the terms of science are such as you cannot have met with in your common reading, and may therefore be unacquainted with, I think it would be well for you to have a good dictionary at hand, to consult immediately when you meet with a word you do not comprehend the precise meaning of.

This may, at first, seem troublesome and interrupting; but it is a trouble that will daily diminish, as you will daily find less and less occasion for your dictionary, as you become more acquainted with the terms; and, in the mean time, you will read with more satisfaction, because with more understanding. When any point occurs in which you would be glad to have further information than your book affords you, I beg you would not in the least apprehend that I should think it a trouble to receive and answer your questions. It will be a pleasure, and no trouble. For though I may not be able, out of my own little stock of knowledge, to afford you what you require, I can easily direct you to the books where it may most readily be found. Adieu, and believe me ever, my dear friend,

B. Franklin

OLD CLOTHES AND NEW

[From a letter to his wife in Philadelphia.]

London, April 6, 1766

My dear Child: — As the Stamp Act is at length repealed, I am willing you should have a new gown, which you may suppose I did not send sooner, as I knew you would not like to be finer than your neighbors, unless in a gown of your own spinning. Had the trade between the two countries totally ceased, it was a comfort to me to recollect that I had once been clothed from head to foot in woolen and linen of my wife's manufacture, that I never was prouder of any dress in my life, and that she and her daughter might do it again if it was necessary. I told the Parliament that it was my opinion, before the old clothes of the Americans were worn out, they might have new ones of their own making. I have sent you a fine piece of Pompadour satin, fourteen yards, cost eleven shillings a yard; a silk negligee and petticoat of brocaded lutestring for my dear Sally, with two dozen gloves, four bottles of lavender water and two little reels.

PROPOSED MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER

[To his wife. The gentleman referred to in the letter, whom their daughter Sarah married, was Richard Bache, a Philadelphia merchant, later Deputy Postmaster-General of Pennsylvania. It is through their children that the Franklin line has come down to our day.

During the Revolution Mrs. Bache served in the hospitals, and was widely known for her patriotism and benevolence. Her activities in collecting clothing and money for the army remind one of her father.]

London, June 22, 1767

My dear Child: Captain Falconer is arrived, and came yesterday to see me and bring my letters. I was extremely

glad of yours, because I had none by the packet. It seems now as if I should stay here another winter, and therefore I must leave it to your judgment to act in the affair of our daughter's match as shall seem best. If you think it a suitable one, I suppose the sooner it is completed the better. In that case, I would advise that you do not make an expensive feasting wedding, but conduct everything with frugality and economy, which our circumstances now require to be observed in all our expenses. For, since my partnership with Mr. Hall has expired, a great source of our income is cut off; and, if I should lose the post-office, which, among the many changes here, is far from being unlikely, we should be reduced to our rents and interest of money for a subsistence, which will by no means afford the chargeable housekeeping and entertainments we have been used to.

For my own part, I live here as frugally as possible, not to be destitute of the comforts of life, making no dinners for anybody, and contenting myself with a single dish when I dine at home; and yet such is the dearness of living here in every article, that my expenses amaze me. I see, too, by the sums you have received in my absence, that yours are very great; and I am very sensible that your situation naturally brings you a great many visitors, which occasions an expense not easily to be avoided, especially when one has been long in the practice and habit of it. But, when people's incomes are lessened, if they cannot proportionably lessen their outgoings, they must come to poverty. If we were young enough to begin business again, it might be another matter; but I doubt we are past it, and business not well managed ruins one faster than no business. In short, with frugality and prudent care we may subsist decently on what we have, and leave it

entire to our children; but without such care we shall not be able to keep it together; it will melt away like butter in the sunshine, and we may live long enough to feel the miserable consequences of our indiscretion.

I know very little of the gentleman or his character, nor can I at this distance. I hope his expectations are not great of any fortune to be had with our daughter before

FRANKLIN'S DAUGHTER, MRS. SARAH BACHE
(From *The True Benjamin Franklin* by Sydney G. Fisher, J. B. Lippincott Co.)

our death. I can only say that, if he proves a good husband to her and a good son to me, he shall find me as good a father as I can be: but at present I suppose you would agree with me, that we cannot do more than fit her out handsomely in clothes and furniture, not exceeding in the whole five hundred pounds in value. For the rest, they must depend, as you and I did, on their own industry and

care, as what remains in our hands will be barely sufficient for our support, and not enough for them when it comes to be divided at our decease.

I suppose the blue room is too blue, the wood being of the same color with the paper, and so looks too dark. I would have you finish it as soon as you can, thus: paint the wainscot a dead white, paper the walls blue, and tack the gilt border round just above the surbase and under the cornice. If the paper is not equally colored when pasted on, let it be brushed over again with the same color, and let the papier maché musical figures be tacked to the middle of the ceiling. When this is done, I think it will look very well.

I am glad to hear that Sally keeps up and increases the number of her friends. The best wishes of a fond father for her happiness always attend her. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. Franklin

HOW TO CHOOSE A WIFE

[To Samuel Franklin in Boston, the cousin with whom Benjamin worked for a few weeks when a boy. See page 15 of the *Autobiography*.]

London, 13 January, 1772

Dear Cousin: I received your kind letter of November 8th, and rejoice to hear of the continued welfare of you and your good wife and four daughters. I hope they will all get good husbands. I dare say they will be educated so as to deserve them.

I knew a wise old man who used to advise his young friends to choose wives out of a bunch; for where there were many daughters, he said, they improved each other, and from emulation acquired more accomplishments, knew

more, could do more, and were not spoiled by parental fondness, as single children often are. Yours have my best wishes and blessing, if that can be of any value.

I received a very polite letter from your friend, Mr. Bowen, relating to the print. Please to present him my respectful compliments. I am just returned from a long journey. Your affectionate cousin,

B. Franklin

RIGHT-ABOUT, FACE!

[Written in 1772.]

For my own part, I do not find that I grow any older. Being arrived at seventy, and considering that by travelling farther in the same road I should probably be led to the grave, I stopped short, turned about, and walked back again; which having done these four years, you may now call me sixty-six. Advise those old friends of ours to follow my example; keep up your spirits, and that will keep up your bodies; you will no more stoop under the weight of age than if you had swallowed a handspike.

ON TAKING EXERCISE

[To his son William Franklin in New Jersey. See the letter on page 311 and the note on page 3, line 2.]

London, 19 August, 1772

Dear Son: In yours of May 14th you acquaint me with your indisposition, which gave me great concern. The resolution you have taken to use more exercise is extremely proper; and I hope you will steadily perform it. It is of the greatest importance to prevent diseases, since the cure of them by physic is so very precarious.

In considering the different kinds of exercise, I have thought that the quantum of each is to be judged of, not

by time or by distance, but by the degree of warmth it produces in the body. Thus, when I observe, if I am cold when I get into a carriage in a morning, I may ride all day without being warmed by it; that, if on horseback my feet are cold, I may ride some hours before they become warm; but, if I am ever so cold on foot, I cannot walk an hour briskly without glowing from head to foot by the quickened circulation; I have been ready to say (using round numbers, without regard to exactness, but merely to make a great difference), that there is more exercise in one mile's riding on horseback than five in a coach, and more in one mile's walking on foot than in five on horseback; to which I may add, that there is more in walking one mile up and down stairs than in five on a level floor.

The two latter exercises may be had within doors, when the weather discourages going abroad; and the last may be had when one is pinched for time, as containing a great quantity of exercise in a handful of minutes. The dumb-bell is another exercise of the latter compendious kind. By the use of it I have in forty swings quickened my pulse from sixty to one hundred beats in a minute, counted by a second watch; and I suppose the warmth generally increases with quickness of pulse.

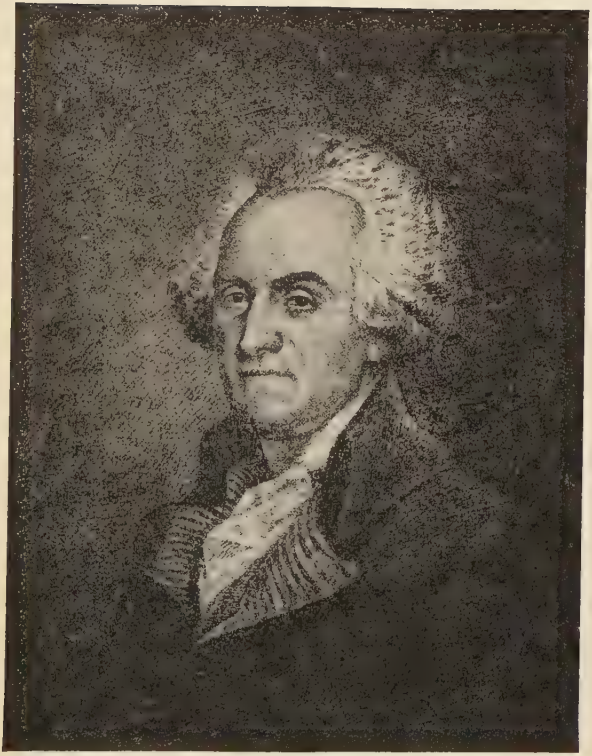
B. Franklin

THE DEATH OF A PET SQUIRREL

[To Georgiana Shipley, daughter of Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, at whose summer home in Twyford Franklin was staying when he began to write the *Autobiography* in 1771.]

London, 26 September, 1772

Dear Miss: I lament with you most sincerely the unfortunate end of poor Mungo. Few squirrels were bet-



WILLIAM FRANKLIN, ROYAL GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

It was for him that Franklin began to write his *Autobiography* in 1771. (From *The True Benjamin Franklin* by Sydney G. Fisher, J. B. Lippincott Co.)

ter accomplished; for he had a good education, had travelled far, and seen much of the world. As he had the honor of being, for his virtues, your favorite, he should not go, like common skuggs, without an elegy or an epitaph. Let us give him one in the monumental style and measure, which, being neither prose nor verse, is perhaps the properest for grief; since to use common language would look as if we were not affected, and to make rhymes would seem trifling in sorrow.

EPITAPH

Alas! poor Mungo!
Happy wert thou, hadst thou known
Thy own felicity.
Remote from the fierce bald eagle,
Tyrant of thy native woods,
Thou hadst nought to fear from his piercing talons,
Nor from the murdering gun
Of the thoughtless sportsman.

Safe in thy wired castle,
Grimalkin never could annoy thee.
Daily wert thou fed with the choicest viands,
By the fair hand of an indulgent mistress;
But, discontented,
Thou wouldst have more freedom.
Too soon, alas! didst thou obtain it;
And wandering,

Thou art fallen by the fangs of wanton, cruel Ranger!
Learn hence,
Ye who blindly seek more liberty,
Whether subjects, sons, squirrels, or daughters,
That apparent restraint may be real protection,
Yielding peace and plenty
With security.

You see, my dear Miss, how much more decent and proper this broken style is, than if we were to say, by way of epitaph, —

Here Skugg
Lies snug
As a bug
In a rug.

And yet, perhaps, there are people in the world of so little feeling as to think that this would be a good enough epitaph for poor Mungo.

If you wish it, I shall procure another to succeed him; but perhaps you will now choose some other amusement.

Remember me affectionately to all the good family, and believe me ever your affectionate friend,

B. Franklin

BRIEF BUT STRONG

[A letter written, but never sent, to William Strahan, a London printer and close friend for forty years.]

Philad^a, July 5, 1775

Mr. Strahan,

You are a member of Parliament, and one of that majority which has doomed my country to destruction. You have begun to burn our towns, and murder our people. Look upon your hands, they are stained with the blood of your relations! You and I were long friends; you are now my enemy, and I am, yours,

B. Franklin

THE COST OF KILLING YANKEES

[From a letter written in 1775 to Joseph Priestley in England.]

Tell our dear good friend, Dr. Price, who sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that

America is determined and unanimous, a very few Tories excepted, who will probably soon export themselves. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is twenty thousand pounds a head; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these data his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory.

HIS POPULARITY IN FRANCE

[From a letter to his daughter, Mrs. Bache, in Philadelphia, dated from Passy, June 3, 1779, two and a half years after his arrival in France.]

The clay medallion of me you say you gave to Mr. Hopkinson was the first of the kind made in France. A variety of others have been made since of different sizes; some to be set in the lids of snuff-boxes, and some so small as to be worn in rings; and the numbers sold are incredible. These, with the pictures, busts, and prints (of which copies upon copies are spread everywhere), have made your father's face as well known as that of the moon, so that he durst not do any thing that would oblige him to run away, as his phiz would discover him wherever he should venture to show it. It is said by learned etymologists that the name "doll," for the images children play with, is derived from the word "idol." From the number of "dolls" now made of him, he may be truly said, in that sense, to be i-doll-ized in this country.

THE WHISTLE

[This was written in the form of a letter to Madame Brillon from Passy, near Paris, when Franklin was envoy from the United States to the court of France. It is dated November 10, 1779.]

I received my dear friend's two letters, one for Wednesday, one for Saturday. This is again Wednesday. I do not deserve one for to-day, because I have not answered the former. But, indolent as I am, and averse to writing, the fear of having no more of your pleasing epistles if I do not contribute to the correspondence, obliges me to take up my pen; and as Mr. B. has kindly sent me word that he sets out to-morrow to see you, instead of spending this Wednesday evening, as I have done its namesakes, in your delightful company, I sit down to spend it in thinking of you, in writing to you, and in thinking over and over again your letters.

State Street Trust Co., Boston

MADAME HELVÉTIUS

She was an admirer and close friend of Franklin while he was at Passy. To her many of his finest letters were written.

I am charmed with your description of Paradise, and with your plan of living there; and I approve much of your conclusion, that in the mean time we should draw all the good we can from this world. In my opinion, we might all draw more good from it than we do, and suffer less

evil, if we would take care not to give too much for whistles. For to me it seems that most of the unhappy people we meet with are become so by neglect of that caution.

You ask what I mean? You love stories, and will excuse my telling one of myself.

When I was a child of seven years old, my friends on a holiday filled my pocket with coppers. I went directly to a shop where they sold toys for children; and, being charmed with the sound of a whistle that I met by the way in the hands of another boy, I voluntarily offered and gave all my money for one. I then came home, and went whistling all over the house, much pleased with my whistle, but disturbing all the family. My brothers and sisters and cousins, understanding the bargain I had made, told me I had given four times as much for it as it was worth; put me in mind what good things I might have bought with the rest of the money, and laughed at me so much for my folly, that I cried with vexation; and the reflection gave me more chagrin than the whistle gave me pleasure.

This, however, was afterwards of use to me, the impression continuing on my mind, so that often, when I was tempted to buy some unnecessary thing, I said to myself, "Don't give too much for the whistle": and I saved my money.

As I grew up, came into the world, and observed the actions of men, I thought I met with many, very many, who gave too much for the whistle.

When I saw one too ambitious to court favor, sacrificing his time in attendance on levees, his repose, his liberty, his virtue, and perhaps his friends, to attain it, I

have said to myself, "This man gives too much for his whistle."

When I saw another fond of popularity, constantly employing himself in political bustles, neglecting his own affairs and ruining them by that neglect, "He pays, indeed," said I, "too much for his whistle."

If I knew a miser, who gave up any kind of a comfortable living, all the pleasure of doing good to others, all the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the joys of benevolent friendship, for the sake of accumulating wealth, "Poor man," said I, "you pay too much for your whistle."

When I met with a man of pleasure, sacrificing every laudable improvement of the mind, or of his fortune, to mere corporal sensations, and ruining his health in their pursuit, "Mistaken man," said I, "you are providing pain for yourself instead of pleasure; you give too much for your whistle."

If I see one fond of appearance, or fine clothes, fine houses, fine furniture, fine equipages, all above his fortune, for which he contracts debts, and ends his career in a prison, "Alas!" say I, "he has paid dear, very dear, for his whistle."

When I see a beautiful, sweet-tempered girl married to an ill-natured brute of a husband, "What a pity," say I, "that she should pay so much for a whistle!"

In short, I conceive that great part of the miseries of mankind are brought upon them by the false estimates they have made of the value of things, and by their giving too much for their whistles.

Yet I ought to have charity for these unhappy people, when I consider that with all this wisdom of which I am boasting, there are certain things in the world so tempting,

for example, the apples of King John, which happily are not to be bought; for if they were put up to sale by auction, I might very easily be led to ruin myself in the purchase, and find that I had once more given too much for the whistle.

Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours, very sincerely and with unalterable affection.

B. Franklin

THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE

[To Joseph Priestley, clergyman, scientist, author, and one of the most remarkable men of his day. Soon after removing to America in 1794, he was offered the presidency of the University of Pennsylvania, which had developed from the academy established by Franklin's efforts in 1749.]

Passy, 8 February, 1780

Dear Sir: Your kind letter of September 27th came to hand but very lately, the bearer having stayed long in Holland. I always rejoice to hear of your being still employed in experimental researches into nature, and of the success you meet with. The rapid progress true science now makes occasions my regretting sometimes that I was born so soon. It is impossible to imagine the height to which may be carried in a thousand years the power of man over matter. We may, perhaps, learn to deprive large masses of their gravity, and give them absolute levity, for the sake of easy transport. Agriculture may diminish its labor and double its produce; all diseases may by sure means be prevented or cured, not excepting even that of old age, and our lives lengthened at pleasure even beyond the antediluvian standard. O that moral science were in as fair a way of improvement! that men would cease

to be wolves to one another, and that human beings would at length learn what they now improperly call humanity!

I am glad my little paper on the Aurora Borealis pleased. If it should occasion further inquiry, and so produce a better hypothesis, it will not be wholly useless. I am ever, with the greatest and most sincere esteem, dear sir, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN

OLD FRIENDS

[To Mrs. Mary Hewson, before her marriage Mary Stevenson. See the letters on pages 295 and 312.]

Passy, 27 January, 1783

— The departure of my dearest friend,[1] which I learn from your last letter, greatly affects me. To meet with her once more in this life was one of the principal motives of my proposing to visit England again, before my return to America. The last year carried off my friends Dr. Pringle, Dr. Fothergill, Lord Kames, and Lord le Despencer. This has begun to take away the rest, and strikes the hardest. Thus the ties I had to that country, and indeed to the world in general, are loosened one by one, and I shall soon have no attachment left to make me unwilling to follow.

At length we are in peace, God be praised, and long, very long, may it continue! All wars are follies, — very expensive and very mischievous ones. When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration? Were they to do it, even by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other.

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[1] Mrs. Stevenson, the mother of Mrs. Hewson.

State Street Trust Co., Boston

PLAQUE MARKING THE SITE OF FRANKLIN'S RESIDENCE IN PARIS, 1777–1785

Spring is coming on, when travelling will be delightful. Can you not, when you see your children all at school, make a little party and make a trip hither? I have now a large house, delightfully situated, in which I could accommodate you and two or three friends; and I am but half an hour's drive from Paris.

In looking forward, twenty-five years seems a long period, but in looking back how short! Could you imagine that it is now full a quarter of a century since we were first acquainted? It was in 1757. During the greatest part of the time, I lived in the same house with my dear deceased friend, your mother; of course, you and I conversed with each other much and often. It is to all our honors that in all that time we never had among us the smallest misunderstanding. Our friendship has been all clear sunshine. Let me conclude by saying to you, what I have had too frequent occasions to say to my other remaining old friends, "The fewer we become, the more let us love one

another." Adieu, and believe me ever yours, most affectionately,

B. Franklin

THE FOLLY OF WAR

[To Sir Joseph Banks, naturalist, explorer, and writer upon scientific subjects. For forty-two years, 1778–1820, he was president of the Royal Society.]

Passy, 27 July, 1783

Dear Sir: I received your very kind letter by Dr. Blagden, and esteem myself much honored by your friendly remembrance. I have been too much and too closely engaged in public affairs, since his being here, to enjoy all the benefit of his conversation you were so good as to intend me. I hope soon to have more leisure, and to spend a part of it in those studies that are much more agreeable to me than political operations.

I join with you most cordially in rejoicing at the return of peace. I hope it will be lasting, and that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats; for, in my opinion, there never was a good war, or a bad peace. What vast additions to the conveniences and comforts of living might mankind have acquired, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility! What an extension of agriculture, even to the tops of our mountains; what rivers rendered navigable, or joined by canals; what bridges, aqueducts, new roads, and other public works, edifices and improvements, rendering England a complete paradise, might have been obtained by spending those millions in doing good, which in the last war have been spent in doing mischief, — in bringing misery into thousands of families,

and destroying the lives of so many thousands of working people, who might have performed the useful labor!

I am pleased with the late astronomical discoveries made by our Society. Furnished as all Europe now is with academies of science, with nice instruments and the spirit of experiment, the progress of human knowledge will be rapid, and discoveries made of which we have at present no conception. I begin to be almost sorry I was born so soon, since I cannot have the happiness of knowing what will be known one hundred years hence.

I wish continued success to the labors of the Royal Society, and that you may long adorn their chair; being, with the highest esteem, dear sir, &c.,

B. Franklin

P. S. Dr. Blagden will acquaint you with the experiment of a vast globe sent up into the air, much talked of here, and which, if prosecuted, may furnish means of new knowledge.

THE AMERICAN EAGLE

[From a long letter to his daughter, Sarah Franklin Bache, dated at Passy, January 26, 1784.]

For my own part, I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country; he is a bird of bad moral character: he does not get his living honestly: you may have seen him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labor of the fishing-hawk; and when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to his nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him, and takes it from him. With all this injustice, he is never in good case, but, like those among men who live by sharp-

ing and robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy. Besides, he is a rank coward: the little king-bird, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly, and drives him out of the district. He is, therefore, by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America, who have driven all the king-birds from our country.

I am, on this account, not displeased that the figure is not known as a bald eagle, but looks more like a turkey. For, in truth, the turkey is in comparison a much more respectable bird, and withal a true original native of America. Eagles have been found in all countries, but the turkey was peculiar to ours; the first of the species seen in Europe being brought to France by the Jesuits from Canada, and served up at the wedding-table of Charles IX. He is besides (though a little vain and silly, 'tis true, but not the worse emblem for that) a bird of courage, and would not hesitate to attack a grenadier of the British Guards who should presume to invade his farm-yard with a red coat on.

ONE WAY TO LEND MONEY

[To Benjamin Webb, one of the many Americans who called upon Franklin for help when in France.]

Passy, 22 April, 1784

I received yours of the 15th instant, and the memorial it enclosed. The account they give of your situation grieves me. I send you herewith a bill for ten louis d'ors. I do not pretend to give such a sum; I only lend it to you. When you shall return to your country with a good character, you cannot fail of getting into some business that will in time enable you to pay all your debts. In that case, when you meet with another honest man in similar distress,

you must pay me by lending this sum to him; enjoining him to discharge the debt by a like operation when he shall be able, and shall meet with such another opportunity. I hope it may thus go through many hands before it meets with a knave that will stop its progress. This is a trick of mine for doing a deal of good with a little money. I am not rich enough to afford much in good works, and so am obliged to be cunning, and make the most of a little. With best wishes for the success of your memorial and your future prosperity, I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

B. Franklin

THE INFLUENCE OF A GREAT MAN

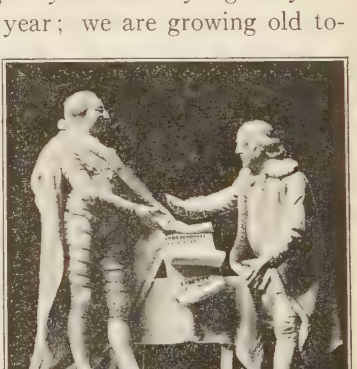
[To the Reverend Samuel Mather in Boston, son of Cotton Mather, the most illustrious of early Boston preachers and writers. On page 16 of the *Autobiography* Franklin speaks of Mather's *Essays to do Good*.]

Passy, May 12, 1784

I received your kind letter, with your excellent advice to the people of the United States, which I read with great pleasure, and hope it will be duly regarded. Such writings, though they may be lightly passed over by many readers, yet, if they make a deep impression on one active mind in a hundred, the effects may be considerable. Permit me to mention one little instance, which, though it relates to myself, will not be quite uninteresting to you. When I was a boy, I met with a book entitled *Essays to do Good*, which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life, for I have always set a greater value on the character

of a doer of good than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book.

You mention your being in your seventy-eighth year. I am in my seventy-ninth year; we are growing old together. It is now more than sixty years since I left Boston, but I remember well both your father and grandfather, having heard them both in the pulpit, and seen them in their houses. The last time I saw your father was in the beginning of 1724, when I visited him after my first trip to Pennsylvania. He received me in his library, and on my taking leave showed me a shorter way out of the house through a narrow passage, which was crossed by a beam overhead. We were still talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said hastily, "Stoop, stoop!" I did not understand him till I felt my head hit against the beam. He was a man that never missed any occasion of giving instruction, and upon this he said to me, "You are young, and have the world before you; stoop as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps."



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FRANKLIN AND LOUIS XVI

This statue, by the French sculptor Lemaire, commemorates the treaty with France in 1788.

This advice, thus beat into my head, has frequently been of use to me; and I often think of it when I see pride mortified, and misfortunes brought upon people by their carrying their heads too high.

I long much to see again my native place, and to lay my bones there. I left it in 1723; I visited it in 1733, 1743, 1753, and 1763. In 1773 I was in England; in 1775 I had a sight of it, but could not enter, it being in possession of the enemy. I did hope to have been there in 1783, but could not obtain my dismission from this employment here; and now I fear I shall never have that happiness. My best wishes, however, attend my dear country. It is now blest with an excellent constitution; may it last forever! . . .

With great and sincere esteem, I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. Franklin

FORGIVE AND FORGET

[To his son in London. Since the beginning of the Revolution in 1775, when William Franklin took sides with the British, father and son had not seen each other, nor corresponded except on matters of business.]

Passy, 16 August, 1784

Dear Son: I received your letter of the 22d ultimo, and am glad to find that you desire to revive the affectionate intercourse that formerly existed between us. It will be very agreeable to me; indeed, nothing has ever hurt me so much, and affected me with such keen sensations, as to find myself deserted in my old age by my only son; and not only deserted, but to find him taking up arms against me in a cause wherein my good fame, fortune and life, were all at stake. You conceived, you say, that your

duty to your king and regard for your country required this. I ought not to blame you for differing in sentiment with me in public affairs. We are men, all subject to errors. Our opinions are not in our own power; they are formed and governed much by circumstances that are often as inexplicable as they are irresistible. Your situation was such that few would have censured your remaining neuter, though there are natural duties which precede political ones, and cannot be extinguished by them.

This is a disagreeable subject. I drop it; and we will endeavor, as you propose, mutually to forget what has happened relating to it, as well as we can. . . .

TOWN NEWS AND FAMILY GOSSIP

[To Mrs. Mary Hewson in London. This is a good example of the many long familiar letters that Franklin wrote in his old age.]

Philadelphia, May 6, 1786

My dear Friend: — A long winter has passed, and I have not had the pleasure of a line from you, acquainting me with your and your children's welfare, since I left England. I suppose you have been in Yorkshire, out of the way and knowledge of opportunities; for I will not think you have forgotten me.

I have found my family here in health, good circumstances, and well respected by their fellow-citizens. The companions of my youth are, indeed, almost all departed, but I find an agreeable society among their children and grandchildren. I have public business enough to preserve me from ennui, and private amusement besides, in conversation, books, my garden, and cribbage. Considering our well-furnished, plentiful market as the best of gardens, I am turning mine, in the midst of which my house stands,

into grass-plats, and gravel-walks, with trees and flowering shrubs. Cards we sometimes play here in long winter evenings, but it is as they play at chess, — not for money, but for honor, or the pleasure of beating one another. This will not be quite a novelty to you, as you may remember we played together in that manner during the winter you helped me to pass so agreeably at Passy. I have, indeed, now and then a little compunction in reflecting that I spend time so idly; but another reflection comes to relieve me, "You know the soul is immortal; why, then, should you be such a niggard of a little time, when you have a whole eternity before you?" So, being easily convinced, and, like other reasonable creatures, satisfied with a small reason when it is in favor of doing what I have a mind to do, I shuffle the cards again, and begin another game.

As to public amusements, we have neither plays nor operas, but we had yesterday a kind of oratorio, as you will see by the enclosed papers; and we have assemblies, balls, and concerts, besides little parties at one another's houses, in which there is sometimes dancing, and frequently good music; so that we jog on in life as pleasantly as you do in England, anywhere but in London; for there you have plays performed by good actors. That, however, is, I think, the only advantage London has over Philadelphia.

Temple has turned his thoughts to agriculture, which he pursues ardently, being in possession of a fine farm that his father lately conveyed to him. Ben is finishing his studies at college, and continues to behave as well as when you knew him, so that I still think he will make you a good son. His younger brothers and sisters are also all promising, appearing to have good tempers and disposi-

tions, as well as good constitutions. As to myself, I think my general health and spirits rather better than when you saw me and the particular malady I then complained of continues tolerable. With sincere and very great esteem, I am ever, my dear friend, yours, most affectionately,

B. Franklin

P. S. My children and grandchildren join with me in best wishes for you and yours. My love to my godson, to Eliza, and to honest Tom. They will all find agreeable companions here. Love to Dolly, and tell her she will do well to come with you.

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING.

[From a letter to his sister, Mrs. Jane Mecom, in Boston. See also the letter on page 284.]

Philadelphia, 4 July, 1786

—— You need not be concerned, in writing to me, about your bad spelling; for, in my opinion, as our alphabet now stands, the bad spelling, or what is called so, is generally the best, as conforming to the sound of the letters and of the words. To give you an instance. A gentleman received a letter, in which were these words: "Not finding Brown at hom, I delivered your meseg to his yf." The gentleman, finding it bad spelling, and therefore not very intelligible, called his lady to help him read it. Between them they picked out the meaning of all but the yf, which they could not understand. The lady proposed calling her chambermaid, "Because Betty," says she, "has the best knack at reading bad spelling of any one I know." Betty came, and was surprised that neither Sir nor Madam could tell what yf was. "Why," says she, "*y f* spells

wife; what else can it spell?" And, indeed, it is a much better as well as shorter method of spelling *wife* than *doubleyou, i, ef, e,* which in reality spell *doubleyifey.*

There is much rejoicing in town to-day, it being the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which we signed this day ten years, and thereby hazarded lives and fortunes. God was pleased to put a favorable end to the contest much sooner than we had reason to expect. His name be praised. Adieu.

B. Franklin

APPENDIX

SKETCH OF FRANKLIN'S LIFE FROM 1757 TO 1790

[Franklin's experiments in science, and also his public-spirited enterprises in Philadelphia, fall largely in the years covered by the *Autobiography*. His services as ambassador and statesman, together with his most famous literary work, come in the latter half of his life. Details of these later years may be read in any biography. The brief sketch that follows is based upon the account given by D. H. Montgomery in *Benjamin Franklin, His Life Written by Himself*, published by Ginn and Company in 1888.]

First Mission to England, 1757-1762

The *Autobiography*, you will recall, ends abruptly in the autumn of 1757, with Franklin in England. He had been sent over by the legislature of Pennsylvania to present a petition against the proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn, who persisted in refusing to allow their estates to be taxed. Such were the weary disputes and tedious delays that five years passed before Franklin carried his mission through to a successful issue. Meanwhile, between hearings, he traveled for several months on the continent, and visited Scotland, where he received his doctor's degree from the University of St. Andrews. It was also during these years that he and his son William made those "inquiries among the remains of their relations" which are mentioned in the opening paragraph of the *Autobiography*. Everywhere he went he made influential friends and created a clearer understanding of the problems in the American colonies. In August, 1762, he sailed for home.

In a letter to Lord Kames, written soon after his return, Franklin says: "On the 1st of November I arrived safe and well at my own home, after an absence of near six years; found my wife and daughter well, — the latter grown quite a woman, with many amiable accomplishments acquired in my absence, — and my friends as hearty and affectionate as ever, with whom my house was filled for many days, to congratulate me on my return. I had been chosen yearly during my absence to represent the city of Philadelphia in our provincial assembly; and on my appearance in the House, they voted me three thousand pounds sterling for my services in England, and their thanks, delivered by the speaker."

Two Years in Philadelphia, 1762–1764

With characteristic energy Franklin plunged into the life of the colony. The spring and summer of 1763 he spent in a tour of inspection of the post offices in America, gathering those ideas for improvement which he later put into effect. The following winter occurred the Paxton riots in which a large number of friendly Indians were brutally murdered by a band of lawless frontiersmen. Franklin vigorously took up the cause of the red men. He denounced the rioters as "Christian white savages"; he formed a military association to protect the defenseless Indians; he headed the commission that finally dispersed the trouble-makers. Soon after, when the old dispute about taxes began anew with the Penns, Franklin openly advised his fellow citizens to petition the king to remove the proprietaries and "take this province under his Majesty's immediate protection and government." This bold stroke lost him forever the support of the Penn family. However, a few months later he was appointed by the

assembly to draw up such a petition as he had recommended, and present it to King George III. So in November of 1764, hardly more than two years after his return, he again sailed for England.

When Franklin established himself in his old lodgings at Mrs. Stevenson's, 27 Craven Street, London, he expected to be abroad for two or three years at most. It was not, however, until the spring of 1775 that he was free to return. During those eleven busy years he was forever waging an uphill fight before Parliament, in committees, with the ministers, to bring about a more just and reasonable treatment of the colonies by the mother country. He fought in vain against the passage of the Stamp Act; he was the leader of those who in 1766 brought about the repeal of this odious tax. Massachusetts and New Jersey now joined with Pennsylvania in appointing him their agent in England. Letters on colonial subjects appeared in the papers and magazines over his signature. These were followed by a number of stirring pamphlets, among them the famous *Causes of American Discontent* and *Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One.* In his leisure he traveled in France and visited his friends in various parts of England. At the home of one of those friends, the bishop of St. Asaph, he began to write the *Autobiography* in the summer of 1771. Meanwhile affairs in America were going from bad to worse. The Boston Tea Party was followed by the first Continental Congress, which drew up resolutions and sent another petition to the king, begging redress for their grievances. Franklin presented this petition, but nothing came of it. More troops sailed for New England and things began to look dark. Still for three

Struggles of the Colonial Agent in England, 1764–1775

months longer Franklin remained at his post. Not until he saw that peace was impossible did he leave for home.

Busy Days at Home, 1775–1776

While Franklin was at sea on the nineteenth of April, 1775, the first battles of the Revolution were fought at Lexington and Concord. Immediately upon reaching Philadelphia he joined heart and soul in the struggle. First of all, he was chosen a delegate to the second Continental Congress. A month later he was appointed one of the commissioners to go to Canada in an effort to make an alliance with that province. On his return he accepted the office of postmaster-general of the united colonies, and also helped to organize the army of which Washington took command. On practically every important committee he was an active member, and of many he was the chairman.

The climax of this busiest year of his life came in June, 1776, when he was chosen one of a committee of five to prepare that Declaration of Independence which on the fourth of July was published to the world. Later that same year Congress voted to send him to France. He was now more than seventy years old. Winter was coming on, and the voyage would be hard and long. If he were captured by a British warship, he would end his days in prison or on the scaffold. But Franklin did not hesitate. In face of discomfort and danger he went forth to perform his greatest service for America.

Minister to France, 1776–1785

Franklin's mission was to win both the friendship and the help of France. Ships, money, and men were sorely needed, and one after another he secured them all. At first the French held off, seeming to doubt the strength and serious purpose of the new republic. News of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga

SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

This picture is taken from the famous painting by John Trumbull, which hangs in the Capitol at Washington.

ended their doubts, and on February 6, 1778, treaties binding France and America in alliance were signed. It was during these years in Paris, and at Passy in the suburbs where he lived, that Franklin became the idol of the French people. His picture was displayed in shop windows. His wit and genial company were sought on every hand. Socially he became the lion of the capital, and with every success of the armies at home his popularity grew. Busy as he was, he found time to write. Indeed, from this period come many of his finest letters and the brightest of his fanciful tales, such as *The Whistle* and the famous *Dialogue with the Gout.*

State Street Trust Co., Boston

MARKER ON THE QUAY AT AURAY

It was on this quay, now known by his name, that Franklin landed in France on December 4, 1776.

The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown brought another period of strenuous work for America's ambassador in France. With John Adams and John Jay, Franklin was a commissioner to negotiate a treaty between the United States and Great Britain. Numberless delicate and irritating questions arose; for months the debates went on; at one time it seemed that the negotiations would

Treaty with England, and Return to America in 1785

surely fail. By tactful management, however, by patience and sound judgment, Franklin smoothed out the rough places, and on September 3, 1783, the final treaty of peace was signed. Two years later he set out for home. So feeble was he, and suffering such pain, that he had to be carried on a sort of couch, or litter, a hundred and fifty miles from Paris to Le Havre, where a vessel, flying the new American flag at the masthead, lay waiting for him. Though his health was failing, his mind was still active. On the long voyage across the Atlantic he made experiments with regard to the temperature of the Gulf Stream, and wrote two of his most valuable scientific papers, one on *Improvement in Navigation*, and the other on *Smoky Chimneys*. On the fourteenth of September, 1785, he landed in Philadelphia amid the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells in honor of his return. In the Old World and now in the new republic he was hailed with love and reverence; and his name was coupled with that of

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

This statue, which was dedicated in 1906, stands in front of the Trocadéro Palace in Paris. Beyond the iron fence is the *rue Franklin*.

Detroit Publishing Co.

FRANKLIN'S FINAL HOME-COMING IN 1785

"We landed at Market Street wharf, where we were received by a crowd f people with huzzas, and accompanied with acclamations quite to my oor." — From Franklin's Journal under date of September 14, 1785.

Washington as one of the two great powers who had carried the Revolution through to final victory.

A few weeks after reaching home Franklin was elected president of the State of Pennsylvania, an office corresponding to that of governor. The next year he was reëlected, and again in 1787. "I had not firmness enough," he wrote to a friend, "to resist the unanimous desire of my country folk; and I find myself harnessed again in the service for another year. They engrossed the prime of my life. They have eaten my flesh, and seem resolved now to pick my very bones." Though he was eighty-one years old and broken in health, his countrymen still needed his services. He was elected to represent Pennsylvania in the convention which met in Philadelphia in May, 1787, to frame the Constitution of the United States. For three months the sessions went on, until on September 17 the completed work was ready to be signed. For the occasion Franklin had prepared a speech, which had to be read for him, so feeble had he grown under the stress of the long summer's work. His hand, however, was firm when he signed the document, making him, as McMaster has pointed out, the "only man who wrote his name alike at the foot of the Declaration of Independence, at the foot of the Treaty of Alliance with France, at the foot of the Treaty of Peace with Britain, and at the foot of the Constitution under which we live."

Governor of Pennsylvania and Work on the Constitution

For still another year Franklin continued in public life and then at the age of eighty-three he retired. His last public act was to sign a memorial to Congress, urging the abolition of slavery in the United States; and the last article he wrote, which was finished the day before

his death, was on the same subject. On April 17, 1790, he died, and was buried in the graveyard of Christ Church, Philadelphia, by the side of his wife. The simple marble slab on their graves is marked, as he himself desired, by no other inscription than "Benjamin and Deborah Franklin, 1790."

Last Years and Death, April 17, 1790

THE STORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Nothing in the life of Benjamin Franklin reads so much like romance as the story of the original sheets of his *Autobiography*. Indeed, the manuscript of this famous book has had a career more strange than any in the history of American literature.

Franklin began to write the memoirs of his life in July, 1771, when he was sixty-five years old. He evidently applied himself diligently to the task, for in the few weeks of his visit with the bishop of St. Asaph at Twyford, in southern England, he wrote a third of the whole work, bringing the story down to 1731. Whether he sent these pages home, or carried them with him when he returned in 1775, is not known. It is certain, however, that in 1776 they were in America. In that year Franklin set out on his mission to France, leaving in the care of a friend, Joseph Galloway, a trunk full of letters and valuable papers, among them the sheets of the *Autobiography*.

And now the strange, eventful history began. Galloway proved to be anything but a trustworthy custodian of property. Within three months he turned loyalist, fled from Pennsylvania, and joined General Clinton's army in New York. Franklin's papers he left absolutely unprotected behind him. Soon after, his house was raided either by British soldiers or by neighbors whose patriotic zeal took the form of pillaging the homes of Tories. They ransacked the building, smashed the furniture to bits, and

scattered documents and letters over the floor. Had they concluded their vandalism by setting fire to the débris, we should not have the memoirs to-day. Fortunately no such catastrophe took place.

Some weeks later, Franklin's son-in-law, Richard Bache, heard of the trouble at Galloway's house and hastened to the spot. He found everything in utter confusion. Many papers were soiled and torn. The pages of the "life" were gone. Who had taken them, and where they were kept during the next six years, will always remain a mystery. Some believe that they were recovered and held by Bache, but this is extremely doubtful. Others think they may have been stolen by one of the men who pillaged Galloway's house; or possibly they may have been hidden away in a cupboard of the building itself. Wherever they were, they were not lost; and at last, by a strange twist of fate, they came into the possession of an old friend, Abel James, who at once realized their value. Immediately he had a copy made of the twenty-three closely-written manuscript sheets, and this copy he sent in 1782 to Franklin at Passy, urging him to complete the story at his earliest opportunity. The original was retained by James, and eventually, though just when is not known, it was restored with other papers to its author.

Let us now return to the copy which Abel James sent abroad in 1782. Franklin was too busy with affairs of state, or perhaps not sufficiently interested, to continue the memoirs at that time. Instead he showed them to his English friend, Benjamin Vaughan, who was then in Paris. Vaughan was even more enthusiastic than James had been. He entreated Franklin to go on with the account of his life, declaring in a letter that the work when completed would

be "worth all Plutarch's *Lives* put together." The next winter Franklin resumed the story, but after writing a few pages he again laid it aside. Not until 1788, when he was at home in Philadelphia, did he write any more. He was now eighty-two years old, infirm and suffering; moreover, he was still busy with public duties. Under these circumstances it is small wonder that the work progressed slowly. Finally, when the narrative reached the year 1757, it stopped altogether.

Had Franklin been ten years younger, or had he lived ten years longer in good health, it is quite probable that he would have finished the *Autobiography*. But the shadows were falling, and it was too late. Instead of going any further, he had one of his grandsons make four copies of the incompleted manuscript, and these he distributed among friends in England and France. One copy — the one upon which the history of the *Autobiography* was destined to hinge — he sent to an old friend in Paris. This gentleman, a monsieur Le Veillard, soon after fell a victim to the guillotine, and his papers, including the gift from across the seas, became the property of his daughter. Such was the state of affairs when Franklin died in 1790.

All of Franklin's manuscripts were left by will to his grandson, William Temple Franklin. Among them were the original sheets of the *Autobiography*. It was hoped and generally believed that an edition of the "life" and other important papers would soon be published. Still the years went by, and Temple Franklin, who had gone to England to live, printed nothing. For one thing, the closely written pages, corrected and interlined, seemed to bother him. In an effort to make his editing easier he offered Le Veillard's daughter the original manuscript in

exchange for the cleaner, more legible copy which she had inherited from her father. Naturally she accepted, and the sheets of Franklin's *Autobiography* crossed the channel from England to France, where for fifty years they remained, unknown and apparently lost.

Meanwhile Temple Franklin continued to putter and dally. "The truth seems to be," says McMaster, "that he did the best he could, and the best he could do was worthless. He was fussy, he was slow, he was cursed with the dreadful curse of putting off. What the duty of an editor was, he never knew. His time was squandered in sorting, arranging and rearranging, reducing here and adding on there, cutting from one place to paste it on another, till the manuscript was a mixture of paper, paste, and pins; till the work was neither his own nor his grandfather's." *

The edition of the *Autobiography* which Temple Franklin finally published in 1817, twenty-seven years after the death of his illustrious grandfather, was a wretched piece of work, as one might expect from the character of the editor. It deserves, however, one word of praise: on the whole, it was an improvement over the motley array of strange and garbled editions that for twenty years had been coming from the press in various parts of the world. The first of these, published at Paris in 1791, was a French translation, by a Dr. Jacques Gibelin, of that portion of the narrative which Franklin wrote in 1771 at Twyford. Where the doctor obtained the manuscript is not known. From this French version, a careless and clumsy piece of

* John B. McMaster, *Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters*, page 263.

work, many other editions were printed, two in England, several in Germany, and another in France.

So matters stood during the first half of the nineteenth century. At last in 1866 came the great Franklin discovery. John Bigelow, then minister from the United States to France, after many months of inquiry, found that the original manuscript of the *Autobiography* in Franklin's own handwriting was still in existence. It was owned by a relative of the Le Veillards and could be bought for 25,000 francs, or about $5000. On January 26, 1867, Bigelow made the purchase, and the following year published the first authentic edition of Franklin's masterpiece. Later he brought the precious manuscript to America and sold it to Dwight Church, from whom it passed to Henry E. Huntington of New York. In the vaults of his residence it now rests, safe at last from pillage and wandering.

The importance of Bigelow's discovery can be appreciated by any one who compares his authentic *Autobiography* of 1868 with the earlier editions. For one thing, it contained for the first time in English the final short chapter, written during the last year of Franklin's life. Of greater consequence, it corrected innumerable errors in the previous publications. Temple Franklin in particular, Bigelow found, had taken unwarranted liberties with his grandfather's manuscript. The picturesque, plain Anglo-Saxon style of the old philosopher had impressed the grandson as undignified and coarse. Whereupon he had changed words and phrases — in all more than twelve hundred of them — to give the *Autobiography* what he considered "a gentlemanly polish." Thus in the Temple Franklin editions "night coming on" had become "night approach-

ing"; "very oddly" had been turned into "a very extraordinary manner"; "footed it to London" had become "walked to London"; and "Keimer stared like a pig poisoned" had given way to "Keimer stared with astonishment." As McMaster remarks, "Such changes may be of small account, yet they cannot be read without a feeling of contempt for the man who made them, and a feeling of thankfulness to the man who pointed them out."

Such has been the history of the *Autobiography* of Benjamin Franklin. Consider, in way of summary, the chief events in its career. First of all, it was written in four installments, one in England, one in France, and two in America, covering altogether a period of eighteen years. The manuscript of the first part disappeared in 1776, mysteriously to reappear safe and sound in 1782. The manuscript of the whole work was taken to England by Temple Franklin shortly after 1790, and from there sent to France, where it disappeared again, this time for half a century. The first edition of this remarkable book was a French translation, and the first version in English was a translation back again into the language in which it was written. Furthermore, it was in Europe, and not in America, that all these earliest editions appeared. Lastly, in 1867 the original manuscript once more came to light, and seventy-eight years after Franklin's death the story of his life exactly as he wrote it was for the first time given to the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

FRANKLIN'S PRINCIPAL WORKS

[Paul Leicester Ford, in a volume entitled *A List of Books Written by, or Relating to, Benjamin Franklin*, has compiled a list of practically everything that Franklin ever wrote. Here are given merely the more interesting publications, with the dates of first issue.]

Dogood Papers, 1722. Letters in the style of Addison's *Spectator*, contributed to James Franklin's newspaper and signed "Silence Dogood." (See page 24.)

The Busy Body, 1729. A series of essays published in Bradford's *Philadelphia Weekly Mercury*, on morality, philosophy, and politics, similar to the *Dogood Papers*. (See page 82.)

A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency, 1729. (See page 86.)

Prefaces to *Poor Richard's Almanac*, 1732–1757. Among these are *Hints for those that would be Rich*, 1737; and *Plan for saving one hundred thousand pounds to New Jersey*, 1756. (See pages 116 and 241.)

A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America, 1743. This paper contains the first suggestion for an American Philosophical Society. (See page 136.)

An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvania Fire-Places, 1744. (See page 145.)

Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania, 1749. Contains the plan for the school which

later became the University of Pennsylvania. (See page 146.)

The Electrical Kite, 1752. A description of the famous kite experiment, first written in a letter to Peter Collinson, dated October 19, 1752. (See page 251.)

Plan of Union, 1754. A plan for the union of the colonies presented to the colonial convention at Albany. (See page 163.)

A Dialogue Between X, Y, and Z, 1755. An appeal to enlist in the army for the defense of Pennsylvania. (See page 183.)

Father Abraham's Speech, 1757. Published as a preface to *Poor Richard's Almanac* and gathering into one essay the maxims of Poor Richard. (See page 243.)

Cool Thoughts in the Present Situation of Our Public Affairs, 1764. A pamphlet favoring a royal government for Pennsylvania in exchange for that of the proprietors. (See page 320.)

The Examination of Doctor Benjamin Franklin, etc., in the British House of Commons, Relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act, 1766.

Rules by Which a Great Empire May Be Reduced to a Small One, 1773. Some twenty rules criticizing the conduct England was pursuing with America. (See page 321.)

An Edict of the King of Prussia, 1773. A satire in which the king of Prussia was made to treat England as England was treating America.

On the Theory of the Earth, 1782. The best of Franklin's papers on geology.

On the Causes and Cure of Smoky Chimneys, 1785. (See page 324.)

Retort Courteous and Sending Felons to America, 1786. Answers to the British demand for the payment of American debts.

Address to the Public from the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting Abolition of Slavery, 1789. (See page 325.)

[The following works were published after Franklin's death in 1790.]

Autobiography, 1791. The first edition, a French translation of the first part. (See page 330.)

Journal of Voyage to America, 1793. Written in 1726 when Franklin was twenty years old. (See page 223.)

Autobiography, 1818. William Temple Franklin's edition.

Bagatelles, 1818. The *Bagatelles* were first published in 1818 in William Temple Franklin's edition of his grandfather's works. Following are the most noted of these essays:

A Parable Against Persecution, 1774? Franklin called this the LI Chapter of Genesis. (See page 265.)

A Parable on Brotherly Love, 1774?

The Ephemera, an Emblem of Human Life, 1778.

The Story of the Whistle, 1779. (See page 300.)

Proposed New Version of the Bible, 1779? Part of the first chapter of Job modernized.

The Handsome and Deformed Leg, 1780?

Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout, 1780. Published first in 1802. (See page 269.)

A Petition of the Left Hand, 1802.

The Art of Procuring Pleasant Dreams, 1806.

Autobiography, 1868. First authentic edition, published by John Bigelow from Franklin's original manuscript. (See page 331.)

BOOKS ABOUT FRANKLIN

[A complete bibliography of books about Franklin would include more than a hundred titles. Here merely a few of the most valuable are given.

The standard complete edition of Franklin is that by Smyth, published in 1907. The three books which should be on the shelves of every school library are Ford's *The Many-Sided Franklin*, E. L. Dudley's *Benjamin Franklin*, and the little volume by Lindsay Swift in the Beacon Biographies. If but one book can be purchased, probably Ford's work will be found the most generally useful.]

The Works of Benjamin Franklin with a Life of the Author, Jared Sparks, 10 volumes, 1836–1840.

Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin, James Parton, 2 volumes, 1864.

Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin, John Bigelow, 10 volumes, 1887–1889.

Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters, John Bach McMaster, 1887.

Franklin in France, Edward E. Hale, 2 volumes, 1888.

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The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, Albert H. Smyth, 10 volumes, 1907.

Benjamin Franklin, Lindsay Swift, 1910.

Benjamin Franklin; a Story and a Play, Mary H. Wade, 1914.

Scenes from the Life of Benjamin Franklin, Louis A. Holman, 1916.

Benjamin Franklin Revealed, William C. Bruce, 2 volumes, 1917.

Benjamin Franklin, Printer, John C. Oswald, 1917.

Franklin, a Play, Constance D. Mackay, 1922.

Benjamin Franklin, E. L. Dudley, 1925.

Benjamin Franklin, the First Civilized American, Phillips Russell, 1926.

"My Dear Girl," the Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin with Polly Stevenson, Georgiana and Catherine Shipley, James M. Stifler, 1927.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

[Definitions of words unfamiliar to high-school students are given in the glossary on page 392.]

PAGE 3, LINE 1. **the Bishop of St. Asaph:** The Reverend Jonathan Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph in Wales, was an admirer of Franklin and a warm friend of the American colonies. Just before the Revolution he said, "I look upon North America as the only great nursery of freemen left on the face of the earth." In 1771 Franklin was enjoying "the sweet air of Twyford," a little village near Winchester, where the bishop had a summer home. (See footnotes on pages 93, 112, and 211.)

2. Dear Son: William Franklin, born in 1730, and Franklin's only surviving son. At this time (1771), he was the royal governor of New Jersey. During the Revolution he remained loyal to England, greatly to his father's grief.

4. when you were with me: This was in 1758, when William Franklin, then twenty-eight years old, was living with his father in London and studying law.

PAGE 4, LINE 13. **gratify my own vanity:** "The surprising and delightful thing about the *Autobiography* is that, taken all in all, it has not the low tone of conceit, but is a staunch man's sober and unaffected assessment of himself and the circumstances of his career." — Woodrow Wilson.

17. give it fair quarter: am reasonably indulgent and merciful to it.

20. within his sphere of action: in touch with him; within his influence.

PAGE 5, LINE 1. **one of my uncles:** Probably this was Uncle Benjamin, for whom our Benjamin was named.

5. Ecton: a quiet little village five miles from Northampton. When Benjamin Franklin visited Ecton with his son in 1758, the house in which his ancestors had lived was still standing, "a

decayed old stone building." To-day no trace of the Franklin home remains. **Northamptonshire:** one of the midland counties of England, adjoining Warwickshire where Shakespeare was born and died. Strangely enough the ancestors of another famous American also came from Northamptonshire. Only thirty miles from Ecton is Sulgrave Manor, the ancestral home of the Washingtons. It was in 1657 that John Washington, the grandfather of George Washington, emigrated to Virginia. Twenty-five years later, in 1682, the father of Benjamin Franklin came to Boston. The social positions of these two families while they remained in England made it almost impossible for them to have associated with each other on intimate terms; for the Washingtons were of the gentry and lived in a manor house, whereas the Franklins were yeomen and village blacksmiths. Yet from these two families, so far apart in the old world, came the two greatest Americans before Abraham Lincoln.

7. the name of Franklin: Formerly in England a franklin was a small landholder, or farmer, of some prosperity and dignity. By derivation the word means a freeman.

9. took surnames: Surnames are family or last names, as distinguished from given names. In early times in England the first or Christian name of a person was the only one recognized by law. Surnames were mere words of description to distinguish one person from another, as Thomas the smith, Charles the baker, James the franklin (the landowner), John of Lincoln, etc. These descriptive titles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries developed into regular legal last names, and Charles the baker became Charles Baker, John of Lincoln became John Lincoln, etc.

22. Banbury, in Oxfordshire: a quaint old town twenty miles north of Oxford on the Cherwell River. It was a stronghold of Puritanism in the 17th century. **served an apprenticeship:** worked for several years to learn a trade. In Franklin's time an apprentice was usually a lad in the teens who had been legally bound by his father in the service of a tradesman for a period of seven years. The boy lived with his master, who clothed him, boarded him, and taught him the trade. In return, the apprentice gave all his time without pay to the business of his master. (See note on *indentures*, page 16, line 15.)

27. lord of the manor: proprietor of the chief estate of the region.

PAGE 6, LINE 9. **Lord Halifax:** Charles Montagu, the first earl of Halifax, a Northamptonshire man, notable as statesman, financier, and patron of men of letters. He was the friend of Addison, Steele, Swift, and Pope.

10. old style: the old method of reckoning time by the so-called Julian calendar. In 1582 this "old style" was reformed by Pope Gregory XIII, but it was not until 1752 that England adopted the "new style" of reckoning time, or the Gregorian calendar. The change was made by dropping eleven days, the day after September 2 becoming September 14. When Franklin was born the colonies were naturally living according to "old style," so that for the first forty-six years of his life his birthday was January 6. With the change to "new style" in 1752 it became January 17.

16. transmigration: the passing of a soul, at death, into another body, either a new-born child or an animal. This belief, more commonly spoken of now as metempsychosis, is ascribed to a Greek philosopher, Pythagoras, who lived in the fifth century B.C. (See page 102, line 21, and note.)

22. Samuel Franklin: This cousin of Benjamin Franklin died in 1775, leaving four daughters who are mentioned in Franklin's will.

23. quarto volumes: books made with each sheet of paper folded to form four leaves. So in lines 6 and 7 on page 7 "folio" is a sheet folded once, and "octavo" a sheet folded so that it makes eight leaves. In publishers' catalogues books are often marked 4to, 8vo, 16mo, etc., to indicate their size. A book of average size, about 5½ by 8 inches, is usually an octavo. A quarto, of course, is much larger.

24. occasional pieces: short poems written for some special occasion, such as a birthday, wedding, or funeral.

25. the following . . . is a specimen: At this point Franklin wrote in the margin of his manuscript, "here insert it," but the poetry is not given. The two quarto volumes of Uncle Benjamin's verses in 1840 were in the possession of a Mrs. Emmons,

of Boston, great-granddaughter of their author. Among specimens quoted by Sparks is the following acrostic, which quite possibly may be the poem that Franklin forgot to insert:

ACROSTIC

Sent to Benjamin Franklin in New England, July 15th, 1710

Be to thy parents an obedient son;
Each day let duty constantly be done;
Never give way to sloth, or lust, or pride,
If free you'd be from thousand ills beside;
Above all ills be sure avoid the shelf;[1]
Man's danger lies in Satan, sin, and self.
In virtue, learning, wisdom, progress make;
Ne'er shrink at suffering for thy Saviour's sake.

Fraud and all falsehood in thy dealings flee,
Religious always in thy station be;
Adore the Maker of thy inward part,
Now's the accepted time, give him thy heart;
Keep a good conscience, 'tis a constant friend;
Like judge and witness this thy acts attend.
In heart with bended knee, alone, adore
None but the Three in One for evermore.

PAGE **7**, LINE **6. folio . . . octavo:** See note on *quarto*, page 6, line 23.

13. Reformation . . . Queen Mary: In England the Reformation began in the reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547. His daughter, known in history as "Bloody Mary," in her efforts to restore the Catholic Church forbade Protestants to practice their religion in public or in private places.

27. Church of England: the Protestant Church established in England as distinguished from the Roman Catholic Church. In creed and ritual the Church of England corresponds to the Episcopal Church in America. **Charles the Second:** king of England from 1661 to 1685, a period in which large numbers of Puritans and nonconformists emigrated to the American colonies.

29. outed for non-conformity: turned out of their pulpits — ousted — and forbidden by law to preach because they would not conform to the ways of the established Church of England.

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[1] Shelf: eighteenth-century slang for pawn-shop.

PAGE 8, LINE 9. **in all seventeen:** Though Josiah was one of five brothers, and the father of ten sons, in the year 1800 there was not a single descendant of any one of the fifteen bearing the name of Franklin. It is also worth noting that of Josiah Franklin's family of seventeen, Benjamin was the only one endowed with genius. His brothers and sisters appear to have been just average men and women, of little ability and no great ambition.

PAGE 9, LINE 1. **born in Boston:** on Sunday, January 6, 1706 (new style, January 17). The small wooden house in which Franklin was born stood on Milk Street, opposite the Old South Church where the baby was christened on the day of his birth. The house was burned in 1810.

4. Cotton Mather: Next to Jonathan Edwards, Cotton Mather was the most learned and widely known of colonial preachers. Born in Boston in 1663, he became the colleague of his father in the old North Church when twenty-one, and remained in that pulpit until his death in 1728. He took an active part in the persecutions of witchcraft.

The church history of the country referred to by Franklin was Mather's greatest literary work, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, generally spoken of as the *Magnalia*.

13. Baptists, Quakers . . . persecution: The first settlers of Massachusetts Bay established a religious commonwealth in which they would not permit Baptists, Quakers, or any who differed from them in religious belief to remain. The Baptists, who under Roger Williams moved to Rhode Island, and the Quakers, who went to Pennsylvania, founded states granting liberty of worship to all. It may have been from his grandfather Folger that Franklin inherited those liberal views in religious matters which made the atmosphere of Puritan Boston distasteful to him.

19. six concluding lines: The lines which immediately precede those quoted from memory by Franklin run as follows:

> I am for peace and not for war,
> And that's the reason why
> I write more plain than some men do
> That use to daub and lie.

But I shall cease, and set my name
To what I here insert,
Because to be a libeller
I hate it with my heart.

There are fourteen pages of these "homespun verses," entitled *A Looking-Glass for the Times*, and dated "April 23d, 1676."

26. Sherburne: on the island of Nantucket.

PAGE **10,** LINE **2. grammar-school:** a small wooden building that stood on the present School Street near the Franklin statue. Its direct descendant is the Boston Public Latin School. (See pages 277–278.)

3. the tithe of his sons: Benjamin was the fifteenth of seventeen children and the tenth son. The tithe, in old English usage, was the tenth part of the yearly increase from land, stock, etc., paid as a tax to the church.

PAGE **11,** LINE **4. tallow-chandler and soap-boiler:** a maker of candles and soap from tallow, or the fat of sheep and cattle. Instead of using a printed sign, Josiah Franklin hung over the door of his shop at the corner of Union and Hanover Streets a blue ball, so that among Bostonians the little store was known as the "Sign of the Blue Ball." The identical ball, about the size of a child's head, and bearing the name of Josiah Franklin in faded letters, hung over the same shop doorway for more than a hundred and fifty years.

8. the dipping mould, etc.: Two ways of making candles were then in common use. Dipped candles were made by lowering wicks into melted tallow, removing them a moment to cool, and repeating the process until the proper size had been reached. Cast candles were made by pouring molten tallow into metal molds in the centers of which wicks were suspended. A frame of these molds, eight, twelve, or even twenty together, is one of the curiosities often found in the attic of a New England homestead.

PAGE **12,** LINE **12. psalm tunes:** tunes to which the Psalms, adapted from the Bible, were set for use in Puritan churches.

17. prudential matters: affairs that required advice and sound judgment.

PAGE **13,** LINE **29. buried together at Boston:** in the Old Granary Burying-Ground just north of the Park Street Church, now in the heart of the shopping district. The present obelisk was erected in 1827 to replace the original gravestone, the lettering of which had become worn and obscure. The new monument, however, bears the original inscription written by Franklin.

PAGE **14,** LINE **7. Without an estate,** etc.: Franklin's father inherited no property and worked at a trade that yielded but humble profits. Yet at his death he left an estate valued at twenty-four hundred dollars, a small fortune for those times.

PAGE **15,** LINE **2. his son Josiah:** one of Benjamin's older half-brothers. Elsewhere Franklin writes that he remembered "thirteen (some of us then very young) all at one table, when an entertainment was made at our house on the occasion of the return of our brother Josiah, who had been absent in the East Indies and unheard of for nine years." Soon after, Josiah Franklin, Jr. was lost at sea.

18. expectations of a fee: Cousin Samuel Franklin expected to be paid for taking Benjamin as his apprentice.

22. ***Pilgrim's Progress:*** an allegory by John Bunyan, recounting the adventures of the hero, Christian, on his journey from the City of Destruction to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Among the Puritans of Franklin's time it was probably more widely read than any other book except the Bible and the *New England Primer.*

24. Burton's ***Historical Collections:*** some forty volumes published between 1681 and 1728 by Nathaniel Crouch, in which "he melted down the best of our English histories into twelvepenny books, filled with wonders, rarities, and curiosities." It was during Franklin's boyhood that these cheap little volumes reached the height of their immense popularity.

27. polemic divinity: books dealing with religious controversies.

31. Plutarch's ***Lives:*** the *Lives of Celebrated Greeks and Romans,* one of the most famous works of classical literature. Plutarch was a Greek philosopher and historian who lived between 40 and 120 A.D.

PAGE **16,** LINE **2.** ***Essay on Projects:*** a book published in 1698, eight years before Franklin was born. Some of the projects discussed were schemes for the higher education of women, insurance companies, better roads, military academies, etc. Franklin was evidently influenced by this book in his own "projects" for improving conditions in Philadelphia. Defoe's most famous book, of course, is *Robinson Crusoe,* published in 1719.

3. ***Essays to do Good:*** a book by Cotton Mather, most noted of Puritan clergymen, written in expectation of the world's coming to an end in 1716. Later in life Franklin wrote to Cotton Mather's son, "If I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes all the advantage of it to that book." (See letter to Samuel Mather on page 309.)

15. indentures: agreements in writing binding an apprentice to a master, usually made in duplicate and the two parts notched, or "indented," so as to correspond to each other. The master kept one copy, the apprentice the other. (See page 5, line 22, and note.)

PAGE **17,** LINE **2. occasional ballads:** narrative poems of not much literary merit, but extremely popular before the days of newspapers. Here is a sample from a ballad on Blackbeard which by some is believed to be the one written by Franklin for his brother's paper.

> Will you hear of a bloody Battle,
> Lately fought upon the Seas?
> It will make your Ears to rattle,
> And your Admiration cease;
> Have you heard of Teach the Rover,
> And his Knavery on the Main;
> How of Gold he was a Lover,
> How he lov'd all ill-got Gain?

5. Teach: Edward Teach, or Thatch, who shared with Captain Kidd the honors of piracy and buccaneering in the eighteenth century. He was killed in battle in 1718. (See the *Boy's Book of Pirates* by Howard Pyle, and *The Reign of the Pirates* by Archibald Hurd.)

6. Grub Street: a London street of the eighteenth century described by Dr. Samuel Johnson as "inhabited by writers of

small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems, whence any mean production is called grubstreet."

PAGE **18**, LINE **16**. **the propriety of educating the female sex:** This was one of the subjects which Franklin had found discussed in Defoe's *Essay on Projects*. (See page 16, line 2, and note.)

PAGE **19**, LINE **13**. ***Spectator:*** a series of papers, or short essays, published daily in London in 1711 and 1712, and revived in 1714. The chief contributors were Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. Their essays attained great popularity, and because of their grace and purity of style they have ever since been regarded as English classics.

In connection with Franklin's imitation of the *Spectator* it is interesting to remember Dr. Johnson's famous remark: "Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison."

PAGE **20**, LINE **24**. **Tryon:** Thomas Tryon, "student in physick," as he called himself, published at London in 1696 his *Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness, or a Discourse of Temperance.*

PAGE **21**, LINE **16**. **Cocker's book:** Edward Cocker (1631–1675) was the author of many books on penmanship and arithmetic used widely in Franklin's day.

18. Seller's and Shermy's books: John Seller was a compiler and publisher of maps, charts, and books on navigation. The volume which Franklin read was probably *A Pocket Book Containing Several Choice Collections in Arithmetic, Geometry, Surveying, Dialling, etc.*, published in London in 1677.

21. Locke *On Human Understanding:* John Locke was a noted English philosopher. His greatest work, the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, appeared in 1690, sixteen years before Franklin was born.

22. *Art of Thinking:* one of several learned works issued by a noted society of scholars who resided in the abbey of Port Royal, near Paris, during the seventeenth century.

27. the Socratic method: the form of instruction, or debate, used by the Greek philosopher, Socrates. By a series of clever questions Socrates gradually forced his opponent to accept his arguments in spite of himself. Thus the philosopher's name has come to signify "sharp, adroit questioning that inevitably leads the one who answers astray."

28. Xenophon's . . . *Socrates:* the so-called *Memorabilia*, a record of the conversations of Socrates. Xenophon also wrote the *Anabasis*, an account of a famous retreat of ten thousand Greek soldiers across the northern part of Asia Minor.

PAGE **22**, LINE **1. Shaftesbury:** Anthony Ashley Cooper, third earl of Shaftesbury, 1671–1713. He published several books on moral and religious subjects during Franklin's youth. **Collins:** Anthony Collins, a writer of the eighteenth century upon religious and philosophical subjects. The books by Collins which most influenced Franklin were the *Inquiry Concerning Liberty and Necessity*, and especially the *Discourse of Freethinking*.

PAGE **23**, LINE **7. Pope:** Alexander Pope, the chief English poet of Franklin's youth. The lines quoted are from the *Essay on Criticism*, Book III.

27. the *New England Courant:* the fourth, not the second, newspaper to appear in America; first issue on August 7, 1721; a sensational sheet, the ancestor of American yellow journalism.

James Franklin, after serving as apprentice to a printer in London, had purchased press and types and returned to Boston in 1717, "establishing his Printing House in Queen Street, near the Prison." He was an excellent workman and from the first he seems to have prospered.

PAGE **24**, LINE **29. several more papers:** Franklin's first contributions to American journalism were essays in the form of letters purporting to be written by Mrs. Silence Dogood. Mrs. Dogood announced in her first letter that she planned to entertain the readers of the *Courant* with a "short epistle once a fortnight." Fourteen letters followed, dealing in gossipy fashion with such subjects as pride, college learning, widows, matchmaking, drinking, religion, and the education of women. Though

Franklin was but sixteen at the time, and had spent but one year at the grammar school, most of Mrs. Dogood's letters were prefaced by a Latin quotation, as were the papers of the *Spectator*, which served both as inspiration and model to the youthful essayist.

PAGE **25**, LINE **14**. **took extremely amiss:** took offense at; objected to strongly.

PAGE **26**, LINE **3**. **some political point:** "About this time," says Dudley in his life of Franklin, "vaccination for smallpox had been introduced into England, and shortly after, the colonies had learned of this means of prevention. The ministers of Boston, and especially the famous Cotton Mather, had welcomed the idea and adopted it. The writers for the *Courant*, who from the beginning had poked fun at the ministers, at once attacked the new discovery. The ministers replied, and for months a wordy war waged between them. Finally, in June, 1722, after the appearance of an article in the *Courant* which criticized the government of the colony, the authorities intervened."

The cause of James's trouble is interesting in view of the fact that Benjamin Franklin later became an ardent supporter of vaccination, writing articles warmly in its favor in his own paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

5. Assembly: the representatives elected by the people to govern the colony. Before 1692 this body was known as the "Great and General Court." **taken up, censured,** etc.: Quite probably this was the first case on American soil relating to the freedom of the press. In England James Franklin would undoubtedly have been punished more severely for his criticisms of the government.

6. the speaker's warrant: a special decree, or writ, issued by the chairman of the assembly.

PAGE **28**, LINE **9**. **a boy of but seventeen:** This was in October, 1723.

PAGE **29**, LINE **4**. **Mr. William Bradford:** Bradford came from England in 1685 with William Penn, the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania. The printing-press which he set up in Phila-

delphia was the third in the colonies and the first to be established south of New England. By printing Governor Keith's *Appeal to the People* he got into serious trouble with the proprietary authorities, so that in 1693 he removed to New York and opened a printing business there.

12. Amboy: a town, also called Perth Amboy, at the mouth of the Raritan River in New Jersey.

16. Kill: the passage northwest of Staten Island in New York harbor. " Kill " is a Dutch word for channel, creek, small river, as in Battenkill, Catskill, etc.

23. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*: See page 15, line 22, and note.

24. copper cuts: pictures printed from copper plates that have been engraved or " cut."

PAGE **30,** LINE **8. De Foe:** Daniel Defoe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe* and of more than four hundred books, pamphlets, and miscellaneous publications. Between him and Franklin there were certain marked similarities of character, tastes, religious opinions, and especially of interest in public affairs and " projects for improving the comfort of man." ***Moll Flanders:*** a story of adventure written by Defoe in 1722, three years after the publication of *Robinson Crusoe.* Remember that these were " books of the day " in Franklin's boyhood.

9. *Religious Courtship*, etc.: These were two of many works issued by Defoe in the 1720's on moral and religious subjects, all in a narrative and popular style.

11. *Pamela*: published in 1740, one of the very earliest of English novels. Samuel Richardson was the author also of *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Sir Charles Grandison.*

PAGE **31,** LINE **31. Burlington:** a town of some importance on the Delaware River, eighteen miles above Philadelphia. (See page 74, line 17.)

PAGE **32,** LINE **5. He had some letters,** etc.: He had some learning, was shrewd, but was a skeptic, or doubter in religious matters.

8. Cotton: Charles Cotton, an English poet and translator. The *Scarronides, or Virgil Travestie*, published in 1664, was a

coarse burlesque of the *Æneid*, extremely popular in its day, running through fifteen editions in the author's lifetime.

PAGE **33**, LINE **19**. **Dutch dollar**: a coin then worth about ninety cents.

20. shilling in copper: twelve English pennies, *i.e.*, twenty-four cents.

32. three-penny loaf: a loaf costing six cents.

PAGE **35**, LINE **4**. **Crooked Billet**: that is, the Crooked Stick of Wood. Undoubtedly a crooked stick hung over the door, just as a blue ball hung over the door of Josiah Franklin's shop in Boston. (See note on page 11, line 4.)

The names of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century taverns, such as the Saracen's Head, the King's Arms, the Black Swan, etc., offer an interesting subject for study.

27. composing stick: a tray, usually of metal, which the compositor, or typesetter, holds in his left hand, and in which he arranges, or sets up, the type.

PAGE **36**, LINE **12**. **font of English**: a complete set of type of the size and style known as "English," like these four words.

13. Elegy on Aquila Rose: Keimer's elegy, as one might expect, is of no value as a poem, though rather interesting as a literary curiosity. Here are the opening lines:

AN ELEGY

On the much lamented death of the ingenious and well-beloved

AQUILA ROSE

Clerk to the Honourable Assembly at Philadelphia, who died the twenty-fourth of the fourth month.

1723. Aged 28.

What mournful accents thus accost mine ear,
What doleful echoes hourly thus appear!
What sighs from melting hearts proclaim aloud
The solemn mourning of this numerous crowd.
In sable characters the news is read,
Our Rose is withered, and our Eagle's fled,
In that our dear Aquila Rose is dead.

PAGE **37**, LINE **2**. **the French prophets**: probably one of the protestant sects of southern France who, under the religious persecution of Louis XIV, called themselves prophets, and indulged in violent contortions of the body. They had as mottoes "No Taxes" and "Liberty of Conscience."

24. Robert Holmes: Before trading between Boston and Delaware, Holmes had been captain of a ship engaged in transporting emigrants from Ireland to Philadelphia and New England. His wife was Mary Franklin, a sister twelve years older than Benjamin.

PAGE **38**, LINE **3**. **Sir William Keith**: one of the best and most popular colonial governors that Pennsylvania ever had, and the only one who took the side of the common people against the proprietors in England. "He enjoyed a successful administration of ten years, which might have lasted much longer but for his reckless ambition. He had allowed himself to fall into habits of extravagance and debt, and had a way of building up his popularity by making profuse promises, most of which he could not keep." — Sydney G. Fisher, *The True Benjamin Franklin*, page 55.

28. Madeira: a choice wine made on the island of Madeira off the coast of Morocco.

29. like a pig poisoned: This is one of the expressions which Franklin's grandson, William Temple Franklin, evidently considered undignified. When he issued the *Autobiography*, he changed these words to "with astonishment." (See page 331 for other changes made by William Temple Franklin.)

PAGE **39**, LINE **3**. **both governments**: Pennsylvania and Delaware.

PAGE **40**, LINE **2**. **as going to see**: as though I were going to see.

18. five pounds sterling: twenty-five dollars, — a much larger sum in 1724 than to-day.

PAGE **41**, LINE **2**. **paper being the money**: There were then no mints in the colonies, so that all metal money was of foreign coinage. Paper notes were issued in great quantity, some even as low as threepence in denomination.

5. piece of eight: a Spanish coin equivalent to a dollar, so called from its being worth eight *reals*. Do you remember John Silver's parrot in *Treasure Island* screaming the alarm in the stockade, " Pieces of eight! Pieces of eight!"?

PAGE **42,** LINE **1. natural philosophy:** the study of nature in general, or more definitely the study of what we call physics.

23. brother John: This was the brother whom Franklin later set up in his father's trade of soap and candle making. Later still, when Franklin became Deputy Postmaster-General, he made John postmaster of Boston, and upon John's death he appointed the widow postmistress, " thus making her, so far as is known, the first woman to hold public office in America."

26. thirty-five pounds currency: In Franklin's day the English " pound sterling " was worth about $5.00, whereas the colonial pound, or " pound currency," was worth only $3.33. Be sure to remember this distinction between " sterling " and " currency " in connection with sums of money that Franklin mentions throughout the *Autobiography*. He usually has in mind the " pound currency."

PAGE **44,** LINE **14. Bishop Burnet:** Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), Bishop of Salisbury and author of *History of My Own Time* and *History of the Reformation*. His son, William Burnet, was appointed governor of New York and New Jersey in 1720, and six years later governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, where he at once became embroiled in a long dispute with the assembly over the question of the governor's salary. (See page 83, line 7, and note.)

26. Vernon's money: Franklin spent or lent all of this money, but when some years later he had become prosperous, he returned every dollar with full interest. (See page 84, line 2.)

PAGE **46,** LINE **2. a West India captain:** the captain of a vessel sailing to the West Indies, among which the Barbadoes were important islands.

PAGE **47,** LINE **8. Annis:** the captain of the *London-Hope*, the annual ship sailing between London and Philadelphia.

PAGE **48**, LINE **23**. **Mosaic law**: This law of the prophet Moses is laid down in *Leviticus*, xix, 27.

PAGE **49**, LINE **7**. **eighteen pence sterling**: about thirty-six cents.

13. the flesh-pots of Egypt: food, indulgence of animal appetites, in allusion to the passage in the Bible, "Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full." — *Exodus*, xvi, 3.

32. Charles Brockden: for over sixty years recorder of deeds and master of the rolls in Philadelphia. His nephew, Charles Brockden Brown, was the first American novelist of note.

PAGE **50**, LINE **12**. **Schuylkill**: a small river that empties into the Delaware in the city of Philadelphia.

PAGE **52**, LINE **8**. **Pope cured him**: In the *Dunciad*, a satirical poem published in 1728 by Alexander Pope, occur these lines:

> Silence, ye wolves! while Ralph to Cynthia howls,
> And makes night hideous, — answer him, ye owls.

The best thing Ralph ever wrote was a prose history of England, for which George II granted him a small pension. He died at Chiswick, England, in 1762. (See page 200, line 19, and note.)

PAGE **53**, LINE **11**. **Newcastle**: a town on the Delaware River, thirty miles below Philadelphia. It was the landing place of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, in 1682. (See also page 87, line 12.)

PAGE **54**, LINE **1**. **Andrew Hamilton**: the man who gave Philadelphia the building now known as "Independence Hall." Montgomery in his edition of the *Autobiography* quotes the following passage from the *American Weekly Mercury* of Philadelphia for November 5, 1724: "On Monday, the 2d of this Instant, Andrew Hamilton Esq., our late Attorney-General for this Province, set out from this Town, in order to Imbark on board Capt. Annis for London, and was Accompanied so far as the Ferry, with some of the Chief of our Town with about 70 Horse."

Hamilton is probably best known for his defense of John Peter Zenger, in New York, on the charge of libel. The verdict of "not guilty" did much for the freedom of political discussion in the colonies, so that Governor Morris styled him "the dog-star of the American Revolution."

Hamilton's son, James, who also made the voyage to England with Franklin, became later a colonial governor of Pennsylvania, and a leader in educational and scientific circles. Both father and son were among Franklin's life-long friends. (See page 87, line 11, and page 163, line 8.)

3. Mr. Denham: the merchant by whom Franklin was employed on his return from England.

16. Colonel French: See page 38, lines 17 and 27.

PAGE **55,** LINE **10. Basket:** John Basket (or Baskett), a famous printer of London in the early part of Franklin's life.

PAGE **56,** LINE **22. the proprietaries:** the sons and heirs of William Penn to whom Charles II in 1681 had granted the tract of land in America known as Pennsylvania, or "Penn's forest country." They resided in England, appointing a deputy governor to take charge of affairs in the colony where their sole interest seemed to be the income they derived from taxes. All laws, to be sure, were made by the Assembly and deputy governor, but it was necessary that they meet with the approval of both the proprietaries and the king. The deputy governors were constantly "between the Devil and the deep sea"; for they had two masters to serve, the proprietaries in England who appointed them, and the Assembly in Pennsylvania which paid them their salaries. Franklin himself later had several clashes with the proprietaries; and it was their attitude on the levying of taxes in the colony that very early began to wean Pennsylvania away from the mother country.

27. Little Britain: a locality in the heart of London, not far from St. Paul's Cathedral and Christ Church School. It was famous then as now for its old book stores. See Irving's *Sketch-Book* for a delightful essay on Little Britain. **three shillings and sixpence:** roughly, eighty-five cents.

PAGE **57**, LINE **2**. **fifteen pistoles**: approximately sixty dollars. A pistole was an old Spanish coin worth about $4.

5. Wilkes: a popular comedian of London and manager of Drury Lane theater.

8. Paternoster Row: a London street long famous as a center of book-making, so called, it is said, from the prayer-books and rosaries formerly sold in it.

9. the *Spectator*: See page 19, line 13, and note.

11. hackney writer: a writer who does odds and ends for small wages. A hackney is a "hired drudge."

12. the Temple: a famous district of London lying between Fleet Street and the Thames, occupied almost exclusively by lawyers.

15. Bartholomew Close: the narrow alley running into the inclosed place where stood the church of St. Bartholomew.

28. Wollaston's *Religion of Nature*: *The Religion of Nature Delineated*, the only important work by William Wollaston, was first privately printed in 1722, and then published in 1724, when Franklin was employed as one of the compositors. Ten thousand copies were sold in a few years, and it went through many editions.

31. *A Dissertation on Liberty*, etc.: In this pamphlet, though acknowledging the existence of God, Franklin argued against there being an immortality of the soul. In thought and expression the essay is clever for a lad of nineteen. A few years later Franklin regretted the publication of his youthful notions, and destroyed all the copies of *Liberty and Necessity* in his possession. Some one, however, who had been impressed by his arguments printed a second edition.

PAGE **58**, LINE **19**. **Cheapside**: a famous old street of London, running from St. Paul's Churchyard to the Mansion House.

20. Dr. Mandeville: Bernard Mandeville, a Dutchman, residing in London in 1725 as a practicing physician, and sometimes called the English Diogenes from his witty and cynical writings. His *Fable of the Bees, or An Inquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue*, was published in 1714, and just before Franklin went to London had been pronounced a nuisance by a Middlesex

grand jury. Two other books by Mandeville were *Free Thoughts on Religion* and *A Modern Defense of Public News.*

Have you noticed how many of Franklin's early associates were men whose thoughts on religious subjects were not in agreement with the accepted doctrines of the day?

23. Dr. Pemberton: Henry Pemberton, a writer of many books upon medical subjects, and a close friend of Sir Isaac Newton. **Coffee-house:** a place of entertainment where persons were supplied with coffee and other refreshments. In the eighteenth century such houses became extremely popular as the meeting-places of politicians, writers, and gentlemen of leisure. The *Spectator* abounds in references to the London coffee-houses of Franklin's youth.

25. Sir Isaac Newton: a noted English scientist (1642–1727), the discoverer of the laws of gravitation, and the author of many famous works.

28. asbestos: a fiberlike mineral which will not burn. It is used in the manufacture of fire-proof curtains, roofing-papers, clothing, etc. The following letter explains how it was that Sir Hans Sloane heard of Franklin's asbestos:

London, 2d June, 1725

Sir, — Having lately been in the northern parts of America, I have brought from thence a purse of the asbestos; a piece of the stone, and a piece of the wood, the pithy part of which is of the same nature, and called by the inhabitants salamander cotton. As you are noted to be a lover of curiosities, I have informed you of these; and if you have any inclination to purchase or see them, let me know your pleasure by a line for me at the Golden Fan, Little Britain, and I will wait upon you with them. I am, sir, your most humble servant,

B. Franklin.

P.S. I expect to be out of town in two or three days, and therefore beg an immediate answer.

29. Sir Hans Sloane: a physician and scientist who at the time of Franklin's residence in London was one of the most notable men in England. His collections became the property of the nation at his death in 1753, and formed the beginning of the British Museum.

PAGE **59,** LINE **16. epic poem:** a long narrative poem dealing with heroic events or the adventures of a great national hero.

Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Virgil's *Æneid*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost* are epic poems.

19. Young's *Satires*: the English poet Edward Young, whose most famous poem is *Night Thoughts*. The lines which Franklin sent to Ralph occur in volume iii, epistle 2, page 70.

21. pursuing the Muses: trying to write poetry. In Greek mythology there were nine muses, or goddesses of song and poetry.

PAGE **60,** LINE **1. Watts's:** "Franklin always credited his knowledge of good book-making to his experience in Watts's printing-house, and it is stated that at every entertainment which he gave his workmen during the life of Watts the health of his old friend and master was one of the toasts. When, too, he went to England in 1757 as agent for his colony, one of the first things he did was to seek out his old employer." — P. L. Ford, *The Many-Sided Franklin*, page 215. **Lincoln's Inn Fields:** a famous square in London, laid out in the reign of James I by the great architect Inigo Jones.

5. working at press: working at the hand printing-press rather than setting up type, or composing. The press at which Franklin worked is now preserved in the Patent Office at Washington. (See cuts on page 60 and facing page 24.)

PAGE **61,** LINE **17. below:** downstairs in the press-room where the heavy machinery was located.

20. mixing my sorts, etc.: mixing my letters, disarranging my pages, and breaking the columns of type I had set up.

23. chapel ghost: the ghost which haunted the printing office. In olden days a printer's establishment was often called a chapel, probably because William Caxton, the first English printer, was said to have had his shop in a disused chapel.

PAGE **62,** LINE **9. their light . . . being out:** their credit being lost. (Eighteenth-century London slang.)

13. a jocular, verbal satirist: a clever, sharp-tongued speaker; one skilled in repartee.

15. a St. Monday: a Monday holiday taken by workmen who had squandered their week's pay in drinking, and were therefore unable to go back to work until Tuesday.

22. an Italian warehouse: a shop where such Italian products as olives, figs, oil, etc., were sold.

PAGE **63,** LINE **3. Charles the Second:** It was in Charles the Second's reign (1660–1685) that Franklin's father emigrated to America. (See page 7, line 27.)

PAGE **64,** LINE **10. Saint Veronica:** according to an early Christian legend, a woman of Jerusalem who gave Jesus on his way to Calvary a handkerchief to wipe His brow. He used it, and upon it was miraculously left an indelible impression of the Master's face. The name Veronica means literally "the true likeness." She is commemorated in the Catholic Church on February 4.

23. Chelsea: a suburb of London, the residence of many celebrated people, including Swift, Steele, and Walpole in the time of Franklin, and George Eliot and Carlyle in the 19th century.

24. College: Chelsea Hospital, which stands on the site of a college established in the reign of James I, but later given up. **Don Saltero:** James Salter, or "Don Saltero," after serving as a valet to Sir Hans Sloane for many years, established a barber-shop in his house where he exhibited the curiosities he had been given by his master. The place came to be known as Don Saltero's coffee-house and was frequented by noted writers and scientists of that time. (See the *Tatler*, No. 34, for an interesting account of the man by Richard Steele.)

27. Chelsea to Blackfriar's: about three miles by the river.

30. delighted with this exercise: Swimming was Franklin's one great athletic achievement. See page 257 for an account of his exploits in the water.

31. Thevenot: the author of a popular book on the art of swimming.

PAGE **65,** LINE **14. Bristol:** a flourishing city in the southwest of England, in Franklin's day the seaport of second importance in Great Britain.

PAGE **66,** LINE **6. fifty pounds . . . Pennsylvania money:** roughly $165. (See note, page 42, line 26, on distinction between "pounds sterling" and "pounds currency.")

16. Sir William Wyndham: an English statesman and orator who had been secretary of war and chancellor of the exchequer before Franklin knew him. The two sons referred to were Sir Charles Wyndham, second earl of Egremont, and Percy O'Brien, earl of Thomond. Franklin did not live to write that part of the *Autobiography* which would have told of his dealings with the earl of Egremont between 1758 and 1762.

29. you and I: Remember that this part of the *Autobiography* is in the form of a letter addressed to his son, William Franklin. (See page 3, line 2, and note.)

PAGE **68,** LINE **1. Gravesend:** an important river-port on the Thames twenty-four miles below London.

2. my Journal: Selections from this remarkable journal are given on pages 223–240. The " plan " has never been found.

PAGE **69,** LINE **20. my employment under him ended:** It is interesting to surmise what Franklin's career might have been had this kind-hearted Quaker merchant not died. " He liked Mr. Denham and the clerkship, and never expected to return to his old calling. If Mr. Denham had lived, Franklin might have become a renowned merchant and financier, like Robert Morris, an owner of ships and cargoes, a trader to India and China, and an outfitter of privateers. But this sudden change from the long line of his ancestry was not to be. Nature, as if indignant at the attempt, struck down both Denham and himself with pleurisy within six months of their association in business." — Sydney G. Fisher, *The True Benjamin Franklin,* page 133.

PAGE **70,** LINE **1. solid observation:** sound judgment.

3. of full age: of age; a full-grown man.

13. Keimer had purchased: Men and women who emigrated to America in the eighteenth century often sold their services to the captain of a ship to pay for their passage. The captain, in turn, sold their " time " to merchants and farmers in the colonies. Franklin himself later speculated in these bonded or bought servants, purchasing their time and then inserting such advertisements as these in his paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette:*

To be Sold. A likely servant lad, about 15 years of age, and has 6 years to serve.

To be sold, a young Servant Welsh Woman, having one Year and a half to serve, and is fit for Town or Country Service. Enquire of the Printer.

PAGE **71,** LINE **8. fifteen guineas:** about $79. A guinea was an English gold coin issued from 1663 to 1813, so called from being first made of gold from Guinea. Its value was twenty-one shillings.

9. his gown: the long loose garment or robe worn by Oxford students.

15. a crimp's bill: A crimp was one who made a business of luring men into the navy or merchant marine. In seaport towns they displayed their bills, posters we should call them, to catch their victims. (See page 70, line 13, and note.)

PAGE **72,** LINE **6. I now contrived a mould,** etc.: In doing this work for Keimer Franklin became the first type-founder in America.

PAGE **74,** LINE **15. a copper-plate press:** A special kind of printing-press had to be constructed for making the paper money from copper cuts. Franklin's copper-plate press was the first to be made in the New World.

16. ornaments and checks: special designs and figures to prevent bank-notes from being counterfeited.

17. Burlington: Do you remember Franklin's experience in Burlington when he first visited the town as a runaway apprentice? (See page 31, line 31.)

PAGE **75,** LINE **1. an odd fish:** a peculiar fellow. Compare this with such expressions as "queer bird," "lazy dog," and "sly fox." What other animals are often compared with people in familiar or endearing terms?

6. Judge Allen, etc.: These men of New Jersey, though now forgotten, were leading citizens in their time. Have you noticed the fact that Franklin liked to associate with men who were his elders and superiors?

12. carried the chain: helped surveyors measure land with their metal chain which was usually sixty-six feet long and naturally rather heavy.

26. the dissenting way: the religion of those who separated from the Church of England, as the Puritans had done.

30. deism: belief in God, but with disbelief, or doubt, of Christian revelation, that is, of God's manifesting or revealing himself through Christ.

31. Boyle's Lectures: an annual course of lectures delivered since 1692 at St. Mary-le-Bow Church in London. The founder, Robert Boyle, a noted scientist, "settled an annual salary of fifty pounds for some preaching minister who shall preach eight sermons in the year for proving the Christian religion against atheists, deists, pagans, Jews, and Mohammedans." Which of the sermons fell into Franklin's hands can never be known.

PAGE **76,** LINE **11. My London pamphlet:** *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain,* printed in 1725. (See page 57, line 31, and note.)

12. Dryden: the great English poet and dramatist, John Dryden (1631–1700). Franklin evidently quotes from memory here, for these lines differ somewhat from the passage in Dryden's *Œdipus*, act iii, scene 1.

PAGE **77,** LINE **21. twenty-four pounds:** probably Pennsylvania currency and therefore about eighty dollars. (See note on page 42, line 26.)

32. crown: a British coin worth five shillings, or about $1.25.

PAGE **79,** LINE **4. the Junto:** originally called the "Leather Apron Club." A junto (the word is Spanish) was usually a group of men who came together secretly for intrigue. As Franklin used the word it meant a council or society for discussion of all sorts of questions, political and scientific.

The influence of the Junto upon Pennsylvania, and upon all America, was very great; for through it Franklin developed a public sentiment that welcomed his projects for the improvement of life in the colonies; and out of this club developed the American Philosophical Society. (See pages 262–263 for further account of the Junto.)

17. Joseph Breintnal: one of Franklin's stanchest friends, a life-long member of the Junto, secretary of the Library Company

for many years, and author of several of the *Busy Body* essays in Bradford's paper. (See page 82, line 21.)

22. Thomas Godfrey: This was the glazier whose family shared the "house near the market" occupied by Franklin and Meredith. Later he helped Franklin with the first issues of his almanac. (See page 116, line 16, and note.)

24. Hadley's Quadrant: A quadrant is an instrument used in navigation, surveying, and astronomy. Franklin is wrong in saying that Godfrey "invented" Hadley's quadrant. Both Godfrey and Hadley, who was an English scientist of some note, suggested valuable improvements in Davis's quadrant. When there was a dispute as to which had made the new discoveries first, the Royal Society in London considered the claims of both sides and rewarded each, sending to Godfrey a gift in the form of household furniture to the value of a thousand dollars.

PAGE **80,** LINE **8. astrology:** the science which dealt with the influence of the stars on human affairs, especially the foretelling of events by the positions of the stars. In Franklin's time there were still some educated persons who consulted astrologers and believed all they were told. To-day there are practically none.

PAGE **81,** LINE **7. pica . . . long primer:** sizes of type. In this book, the *Autobiography* is in long primer; the title "Appendix" at the top of this page is in pica.

14. imposed my forms, etc.: arranged my type and locked it up ready for printing. The accident reduced one of the forms to a confused mass of letters which I had to work out and put back in their proper boxes before I began to set the pages up again.

24. St. Andrew's in Scotland: Franklin, accompanied by his son William, spent six weeks of the summer of 1759 in Scotland, visiting among other places the University of St. Andrews, which earlier in the year had conferred upon him an honorary degree.

PAGE **82,** LINE **21. Busy Body:** The letters which Franklin wrote for Bradford's *Mercury* show the same humor and sprightliness that marked his earlier contributions to his brother Joseph's newspaper in Boston. "There is, however," writes S. G. Fisher in *The True Benjamin Franklin,* "a great difference in their tone.

No ridicule of the prevailing religion or hatred of those in authority appears in them. The *Busy Body* papers are merely pleasant raillery at the failings of human nature in general." In style and in general interest they were greatly superior to anything in Keimer's paper.

24. He began his paper: Keimer's paper bore the cumbersome title of *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences, and Pennsylvania Gazette.* It was a dull affair, consisting largely of articles borrowed and condensed from Chambers's *Universal Dictionary of All the Arts and Sciences.*

Franklin took over the paper in October, 1729. The first thing he did was to cut down Keimer's long title to the *Pennsylvania Gazette.* He also gave up the practice of copying "old stuff" out of encyclopædias, and instead began to print articles on the affairs of the colonies which aroused interest and discussion wherever they were read. Three years later, in 1732, Franklin was so much pleased with the success of his *Gazette* that he started the publication of a fortnightly paper in German, the *Philadelphia Zeitung,* which had the distinction of being the first paper printed in a foreign language in America.

PAGE **83,** LINE **7. Governor Burnet:** This dispute was in regard to the governor's salary. Though apparently a little matter in itself, the question as to whether the English government or the colonial assemblies should pay the royally appointed governors was one of the principal causes of that growing hostility to Great Britain which in the end caused the Revolution. It is worth noting that as early as 1729, forty-six years before the battle of Lexington, Franklin was a leader of public sentiment against the methods of government practiced by the mother country. (See page 44, line 14, and note.)

PAGE **86,** LINE **2. about the year 1729:** The exact date of Franklin's striking out in business for himself was July 14, 1730, when he was twenty-four years old.

5. soon to be sunk: The paper money then in existence was soon to be reduced in amount, or recalled and redeemed.

17. between Second and Front streets: This is now the center of the wholesale business district of Philadelphia.

23. an anonymous pamphlet: Though forcibly written and well reasoned for a young man of twenty-three, this essay shows that Franklin was still too young and inexperienced to write wisely upon so difficult a subject as paper currency and finance.

PAGE **87,** LINE **5. pounds:** The pound referred to all through this discussion of paper money is evidently the " pound currency." (See page 42, line 26, and note.)

9. there are limits, etc.: Paper money always depreciates in value when a nation issues more of it than in all probability can ever be redeemed. Thus in the dark days of the Revolution, when it looked as though all " promises to pay " by the colonies were going to naught, it took several hundred dollars in paper money to buy a pair of boots.

11. Hamilton: Andrew Hamilton, mentioned several times in the *Autobiography*. (See page 54, line 1, and note.)

12. Newcastle paper money: money printed by the Delaware colony at Newcastle.

17. that government: that of the " Delaware Counties," now the state of Delaware.

PAGE **90,** LINE **15. the riders:** the men who carried the mail on horseback from town to town and from one colony to another. Elsewhere Franklin refers to them as " post-riders " and " the post."

PAGE **92,** LINE **10. The match:** Miss Read's marriage with the potter, Rogers. (See page 68, line 17.) This is the same Miss Read who smiled at Franklin's " most awkward, ridiculous appearance " as he strolled up Market Street the morning of his arrival in Philadelphia. (See page 34, line 9.)

16. I took her to wife, etc.: Franklin's letters to his wife, covering a period of forty years, abound with evidence that their marriage was a happy one. To be sure, she was a woman of little education and no intellectual tastes. In Franklin's studies in science and history she could have had but little interest. " It was her homely, housewifely virtues, handsome figure, good health, and wholesome common sense which appealed to him; and it was a strong appeal, for he enjoyed these earthly comforts fully as

much as he did the high walks of learning in which his fame was won." — S. G. Fisher, *The True Benjamin Franklin*, page 118. She died in 1774, while Franklin was in England.

PAGE **93**, LINE **9**. **a subscription library:** the first circulating library in America, and the first of many public-spirited enterprises launched by Franklin.

The first books, costing £45, arrived from London in 1732 and were placed in a private house which then was used by the Junto for its meetings. The library, of which Franklin himself took charge, was open but for an hour or two on three days of the week. Its popularity, however, was great; the books were in constant circulation; new subscribers were added; donations of money and books came in; so that in 1740 the collection had to be moved to larger quarters in the new State House, where it remained for thirty-three years. From 1773 to 1790 it was lodged in Carpenters' Hall. Then a fine large building of its own was erected, which in 1880 was replaced by the present Philadelphia Library, an institution with more than 250,000 volumes on its shelves.

Here is the inscription written by Franklin in 1789 for the cornerstone of the library building begun in that year:

BE IT REMEMBERED,
IN HONOUR OF THE PHILADELPHIA YOUTH,
(THEN CHIEFLY ARTIFICERS)
THAT IN MDCCXXXII,
THEY CHEERFULLY, AT THE INSTANCE OF ONE OF THEIR NUMBER
INSTITUTED THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY,
WHICH THO' SMALL AT FIRST
IS BECOME HIGHLY VALUABLE,
AND EXTREMELY USEFUL;
AND WHICH THE WALLS OF THIS EDIFICE
ARE NOW DESTINED TO CONTAIN AND PRESERVE.
THE FIRST STONE OF WHOSE FOUNDATION
WAS HERE PLACED
THE 31ST DAY OF AUGUST,
MDCCLXXXIX.

With Franklin's permission, given under protest, the directors of the Library Company altered the fifth line of the inscription to read

AT THE INSTANCE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ONE OF THEIR NUMBER

and thus it was engraved, and so it stands to-day on the original stone which is set in the north wall of the present building.

12. forty shillings: about $6.50, but equivalent to a much larger sum to-day.

23. in defence of their privileges: Here ends the first installment of the *Autobiography*. Franklin has been writing, you will remember, at the country home of the "good Bishop of St. Asaph," in the little village of Twyford, in 1771, and his journal has been in the form of a letter to his son William, the governor of New Jersey. But just in the midst of his account of the subscription library, business called him back to London and the memoirs were laid aside.

PAGE **94,** LINE **1. On this little fund we began:** Thirteen years have passed since Franklin wrote the previous sentence. It is now 1784, and he is writing at Passy, near Paris, in France. The first installment of his *Autobiography* has been circulated in manuscript among friends and eagerly read. Two of these friends, Abel James and Benjamin Vaughn, have written and urged him to go on with the story of his life; and now it is in response to their request that he again sets down his memoirs.

Two paragraphs, in which Franklin repeats some of the early history of the subscription library, and also the letters of James and Vaughn, are here omitted.

20. the company: the Library Company which became the Philadelphia Library. (See note on page 93, line 9.)

PAGE **95,** LINE **20. Solomon:** See *Proverbs*, xxii, 29.

PAGE **96,** LINE **6. a pewter spoon:** a spoon made of pewter, an alloy of tin and lead, hence a cheap and humble metal. Old pewter, however, is now highly prized by collectors of antiques; so that Franklin's earthen porringer and old pewter spoon would be considered more valuable than the china bowl and silverware.

11. the enormous sum: not more than $3.85.

19. Presbyterian: the system of church government by elders or presbyteries. Presbyterianism was developed in the 16th century by Calvin and other reformers. It was the form of church government of the English Puritans, and to-day is the predominating religion of Scotland.

PAGE **97,** LINE **13. I seldom attended any public worship:** Later in life Franklin's attitude toward church-going changed. He frequently attended himself and urged others to do so.

PAGE **102,** LINE **21. Pythagoras:** a Greek philosopher who lived about 600 B.C., of whom very little is known. He required his followers each day to examine their conduct and reflect upon their way of living. "The time for this work is about even or bedtime, that we may conclude the action of the day with the judgment of conscience, making the examination an evening song to God. Wherein have I transgressed? What have I done? What duty have I omitted? So shall we measure our lives by the rules above mentioned, if to the law of the mind we join the judgment of reason." — Quoted from an English version of the *Golden Verses* by Bigelow in his edition of the *Autobiography*. (See also page 6, line 15, and note.)

PAGE **104,** LINE **12. Addison's *Cato:*** Joseph Addison, writer of essays in the *Spectator* and the creator of Sir Roger de Coverley, was the author of one play, *The Tragedy of Cato*, which appeared in 1713, when Franklin was seven years old. As a play on the stage it was a failure, but it contained some fine lines that are still often quoted.

17. Cicero: the greatest orator of Rome, and one of her most famous statesmen and philosophers (106–43 B.C.). Franklin's quotation is taken, somewhat condensed, from the second paragraph of the fifth book of the *Tusculan Disputations*.

PAGE **105,** LINE **7. Thomson's poems:** James Thomson was an English poet six years older than Franklin. His two best poems are *The Seasons* and *The Castle of Indolence*. Franklin's "little prayer" occurs in the poem *Winter*, which is part iv of *The Seasons*.

PAGE **106,** LINE **30. My scheme of order,** etc.: Even as late as 1778, when Franklin was American agent in France, the habit of disorder persisted. "Strangers who came to see him were amazed to behold papers of the greatest importance scattered in the most careless way over the tables and floors." — John B. McMaster, *Benjamin Franklin*, page 227.

PAGE **109,** LINE **32. a great and extensive project:** This is explained in chapter xi, pages 113–115.

PAGE **112,** LINE **4. proud of my humility:** These words conclude that portion of the *Autobiography* written at Passy, in France. On September 14, 1785, Franklin landed in Philadelphia, but his work on the Constitution of the United States kept him so busily occupied that he did not resume the writing of his memoirs until August, 1788. (See pages 93 and 211.)

PAGE **113,** LINE **4. Having mentioned a "great . . . project":** See page 109, line 32. Franklin is now writing at his home in Philadelphia. He is eighty-two years old, and since he began his *Autobiography* in 1771, he has seen the thirteen colonies declare their independence, fight a long and successful war with Great Britain, and put forth the Constitution of the United States. Moreover, he has taken an active part, more than any other man in America, in all of these momentous events.

PAGE **114,** LINE **21. the essentials of . . . religion:** These notes on his religious beliefs were written when Franklin was twenty-five. Nearly sixty years later, at the very close of his life, in a famous letter to Ezra Stiles, president of Yale, he gave as his creed the same "essentials" which he had set down in 1731.

PAGE **116,** LINE **16.** ***Poor Richard's Almanac:*** Thomas Godfrey had prepared the scientific calculations for the almanac of 1732, but when he failed to make a match between his relative and Franklin (see page 91), he moved his family out of the young printer's house and took his manuscript to another publisher. This forced Franklin to write his own almanac, which he promptly did. However, in his desire to gain credit for his sayings and prophecies, he took as a pseudonym the name of a well-known

almanac maker of the previous century, Richard Saunders. From this pen-name, and from Poor Robin, the title of a famous English almanac of the day, his work came to be known generally as *Poor Richard's Almanac.*

Franklin by no means had the field to himself. Dozens of almanacs were appearing every year at this time in England and America, many of them with more accurate calculations and more scientific information than his. But the humor of Poor Richard, the wit and wisdom and clever sayings scattered through its pages, brought enormous sales to Franklin's publication and soon made it the most popular work of its kind then in existence. (See pages 241–249 for selections from *Poor Richard.*)

PAGE **117,** LINE **23. the *Spectator*:** This was the same noted journal which Franklin used as a model when, as a boy of fifteen in Boston, he tried to improve his written style. (See page 19, line 13, and note.)

26. a Socratic dialogue: a literary work in the form of a conversation between two persons, one asking and the other answering questions. Socrates, the ancient Greek philosopher, used this method in his teaching. (See page 21, line 27, and note.)

PAGE **120,** LINE **23. Dr. Foster:** the Reverend James Foster, the most popular London preacher of that generation, praised by Pope and Johnson. His published sermons went through five editions.

27. sermons composed by others: It is interesting to compare Franklin's sentiment concerning original sermons with a passage in Addison. In the *Spectator* for July 2, 1711 (No. 106), Sir Roger de Coverley is singing the praises of the parish clergyman when that gentleman enters the room:

> As Sir Roger was going on in his story, the gentleman we were talking of came up to us; and upon the knight's asking him who preached to morrow (for it was Saturday night) told us the Bishop of St. Asaph in the morning, and Dr. South in the afternoon. He then shewed us his list of preachers for the whole year, where I saw with a great deal of pleasure Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Saunderson, Dr. Barrow, Dr. Calamy, with several living authors who have published discourses of practical divinity. I no sooner saw this venerable man in the pulpit, but I very much approved of my friend's insisting upon the qualifications of a good aspect and a clear voice; for I was so charmed with the

gracefulness of his figure and delivery, as well as the discourses he pronounced, that I think I never passed any time more to my satisfaction. A sermon repeated after this manner is like the composition of a poet in the mouth of a graceful actor.

I could heartily wish that more of our country-clergy would follow this example; and instead of wasting their spirits in laborious compositions of their own, would endeavour after a handsome elocution, and all those other talents that are proper to enforce what has been penned by greater masters. This would not only be more easy to themselves, but more edifying to the people.

PAGE **121,** LINE **4. subscription for the support of its ministers:** Franklin helped all sects impartially with subscriptions for building their places of worship.

30. mode of teaching languages: John Bigelow, the noted editor of the *Autobiography*, says of this passage: "It may be doubted whether any thing more wise than this has been written upon the much-vexed question to which it relates. The authority of Franklin, the most eminently practical man of his age, in favor of reserving the study of the dead languages until the mind has reached a certain maturity, is confirmed by the confession of the most eminent scholar of any age, the historian Edward Gibbon." — Bigelow's *Franklin*, volume i, page 257.

PAGE **123,** LINE **5. I lost one of my sons:** This was Francis Folger Franklin, "an uncommonly fine boy," who seems to have been his father's favorite.

8. inoculation: a method of preventing smallpox introduced from China early in the eighteenth century, but not practiced in England until 1722. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who lived in Constantinople, was the first English person to have her children undergo the operation. Even earlier, in 1721, a Dr. Boylston had practiced inoculation in Boston. Vaccination, another form of inoculation, was introduced about 1796. It seems strange to us to-day that both these methods of fighting a terrible scourge were opposed for many years, especially by clergymen and doctors, as sinful and dangerous. The stock argument of the ministers was that a plague, like smallpox, was a punishment ordained by God, and of course it was wicked to oppose a divine instrument.

Do you remember that it was this same controversy about inoculation for smallpox that got James Franklin and his appren-

tice Benjamin into trouble with the Boston authorities back in 1723? (See page 26, line 3, and note.)

13. Our club, the Junto: See page 79, line 4, and note.

PAGE **125,** LINE **2. the General Assembly:** the legislature of Pennsylvania, made up of members elected by the people of the colony.

PAGE **126,** LINE **12. Colonel Spotswood:** Alexander Spotswood, a British soldier and statesman, governor of Virginia from 1710 to 1722, and postmaster-general of the colonies from 1730 to his death in 1740. He did notable work in developing the tobacco industry in the South.

14. his deputy at Philadelphia: This was none other than Bradford, Franklin's business rival.

PAGE **127,** LINE **1. The city watch:** night watchmen, or policemen. Franklin seems to have forgotten what he wrote on page 93. "And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library." That was in 1731, and as a public project it was of far greater influence than the city watch.

PAGE **128,** LINE **27. Union Fire Company:** Such volunteer fire companies as Franklin here describes were the rule even in large cities until fifty years ago, when they began to give place to companies that were regularly paid and constantly on duty.

PAGE **129,** LINE **9. Mr. Whitefield:** George Whitefield (pronounced Whit-field), one of the greatest English preachers of the eighteenth century and founder of the Calvinistic Methodists. He was eight years younger than Franklin, and only twenty-five when he first preached in Philadelphia. In his earlier life he had been associated with John and Charles Wesley, though he did not follow their doctrines in every particular. In 1770, on his seventh visit to America, he died in Newburyport, Massachusetts, and was buried there in a vault under the pulpit of the Old South Church.

Whitefield is said to have preached more than 18,000 sermons, some of which were collected and published in six volumes after his death. His great power, however, as Franklin says, was due

to his oratorical ability and personal magnetism. Professor Davidson in his edition of the *Autobiography* quotes from one who had heard him preach:

> Whitefield's dramatic power was amazing. "Aye, sure," said an old man who heard him, "he was a jolly brave man; and what a look he had as he put out his right hand to rebuke a disturber who tried to stop him under a pear tree. The man had been threatening and noisy, but he could not stand the look. Off he rode and Whitefield said, 'There he goes: empty barrels make most din.' His voice was marvellously varied, and he ever had it at command — an organ, a flute, a harp, all in one. His intellectual powers were not of high order, but he had an abundance of that ready talent which makes the popular preacher; and beyond all natural endowments there was in his ministry the power of evangelical truth and, as his converts believed, the presence of the spirit of God." — *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by H. A. Davidson, page 372.

Page **130**, Line **7. Westminster Hall:** the great hall of the ancient palace of Westminster, London, built by Edward the Confessor in the eleventh century. It now forms the vestibule to the Houses of Parliament. No other hall in England is so rich in historical associations.

14. the Mufti of Constantinople: the high priest of the Mohammedans.

24. taken out of the jails: General James Edward Oglethorpe had established a colony in Georgia in 1732, chiefly for the benefit of poor debtors in English prisons.

Page **132**, Line **17. Mr. Benezet:** Anthony Benezet, who came from France and settled in Philadelphia in 1731. He was one of the earliest of American philanthropists, devoting his life to the abolition of the slave trade and to the education of negroes and Indians.

18. Germantown: a former suburb of Philadelphia, since 1854 included within the city limits.

Page **134**, Line **8.** ***litera scripta manet:*** that is, the written letter remains. The complete quotation is *litera scripta manet, verbum at inane perit,* — "the written letter remains, but that which is spoken perishes."

Page **136**, Line **13. proprietaries:** the owners of the Pennsylvania colony. Chief among these were the descendants of

William Penn, to whom the land had been granted in the seventeenth century. (See page 56, line 22, and note.)

17. a Philosophical Society: An account of this famous association, which still exists, may be found in any large encyclopædia under the heading "American Philosophical Society." Six of the nine original members were also members of the Junto.

The paper to which Franklin refers was published in 1743. In it he says that the object of the society was to "encourage all philosophical experiments that let light into the nature of things, tend to increase the power of man over matter, and multiply the convenience and pleasures of life." It was entitled *A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America.*

23. our governor, Thomas: George Thomas, lieutenant governor under the proprietaries, 1738–1747.

24. Quaker Assembly: The Friends, or Quakers, were a religious society formed in England as the result of the preaching of George Fox during the last half of the seventeenth century. They believed in the inward guidance of the spirit, rejected all forms and creeds, discarded a paid ministry, and were opposed to war.

PAGE **137,** LINE **5. building before mentioned:** the building erected in 1739 "for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people of Philadelphia." (See page 30, line 10.)

24. conceiving myself unfit: Franklin, who was now thirty-eight years old, declined the position of colonel not because he was physically unfit, but because he knew that he could do more good as an administrator and organizer than as a soldier in the field.

28. a lottery: a gambling game in which a large number of persons pay small contributions to a fund from which prizes are paid "by lot" to a few ticket holders. In Franklin's time lotteries were a common method of raising money for all sorts of public purposes, including churches and schools. For instance, in 1750 a lottery was organized to raise money for a new building at Yale, and in 1772 and again in 1806 Harvard raised funds in a similar way.

In 1826 lotteries were banned in England, and to-day they are illegal in practically every civilized part of the earth.

30. merlons: the parts of a parapet between the openings or embrasures. Franklin seems to use the term in the general sense of walls of a fort.

PAGE **138,** LINE **7. Governor Clinton:** George Clinton, youngest son of the sixth earl of Lincoln, and colonial governor from 1741 to 1753.

30. translated into German: William Penn had encouraged emigration from the low countries of Germany to his colony, so that in Franklin's time there were many thousands of German families in eastern Pennsylvania. The descendants of these Germans are often spoken of to-day, quite inaccurately, as "Pennsylvania Dutch."

PAGE **140,** LINE **29. sixty pounds:** probably "pounds currency," and therefore about $225. (See note on page 42, line 26.)

PAGE **142,** LINE **8. Mr. Logan:** James Logan, for many years business agent of William Penn, and for two years acting governor of the colony. Both as statesman and as author he was a man of marked ability. His translation of Cicero's *De Senectute* (*On Old Age*) was printed by Franklin, a life-long friend, who also wrote a preface and notes for the work. Logan bequeathed his valuable library to the city of Philadelphia.

15. William Penn: the founder of Pennsylvania and one of the most celebrated of English Quakers. He came to his American colony twice, in 1682 and 1699.

PAGE **143,** LINE **19. Louisburg:** a town on the coast of Cape Breton Island, commanding the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and for many years the stronghold of the French in America. In 1745 and again in 1758 Louisburg was captured by English and colonial armies. The occasion to which Franklin refers took place in the more famous siege of 1745, in which 3600 Massachusetts men were engaged.

PAGE **144,** LINE **18. Dunkers:** The Church of the Brethren, also known as Dunkers and Dunkards, grew out of the religious awakening in Germany in the latter years of the seventeenth

century. Persecuted at home, they finally emigrated to America and settled in Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia.

PAGE **145**, LINE **24**. **invented an open stove**: Here again in a few sentences Franklin modestly refers to one of the very great services which he performed for mankind.

The only method of warming buildings before 1742 was the open fireplace. "Whoever sat by it," as Franklin said, "was scorched before and frozen behind." In the new "Pennsylvania fireplace" the heat was conducted through a metal flue out into the room before going into the chimney, thus warming currents of air that circulated about the building so that, to use the inventor's own words, "people need not crowd so close around the fire, but may sit near the window and have the benefit of the light for reading, writing, needlework &c." Modern open stoves are based on the Franklin principle. (See page 250 for an account of some of Franklin's other inventions.)

27. Mr. Robert Grace: the member of the Junto who, with William Coleman, lent Franklin money with which to continue in business after Meredith left him. (See page 84, line 25.)

31. published a pamphlet: reprinted in Smyth's edition of Franklin's writings, with descriptions and drawings of all parts of the stove.

PAGE **146**, LINE **28**. **an academy**: See page 136, line 9.

PAGE **147**, LINE **15**. **Mr. Francis**: This was Tench Francis, a native of Ireland, who was attorney-general of Pennsylvania from 1741 to 1755. He was an eminent lawyer, and, according to Franklin's *Gazette* for August 24, 1758, "served in his several offices with the highest reputation."

20. The scholars increasing fast: By 1755 there were nearly 300 students, many of whom came from other colonies than Pennsylvania.

PAGE **148**, LINE **4**. **Moravian**: a Protestant religious sect which originated in Moravia, a part of Austria, among the followers of John Huss. A large number emigrated to Georgia in 1735, but later moved to Pennsylvania, where they built the towns of

Bethlehem and Nazareth. Franklin speaks of their character and way of living on page 189.

PAGE **149**, LINE **8**. **Mr. David Hall**: a Scotchman who had learned the printing business in Edinburgh and London. He came to America in 1744 and was Franklin's partner for eighteen years. Later the firm of Hall and Sellers printed the paper money issued by Congress during the Revolution.

13. incorporated by a charter: in 1753, granted by the proprietors, Thomas and Richard Penn. Two years after, the institution was converted into the College and Academy of Philadelphia, later called the University of Pennsylvania.

PAGE **150**, LINE **1**. **When I disengaged myself**, etc.: "When Franklin retired from business in 1748 he was but forty-two years of age, but he had acquired a comfortable competence. By the terms of his agreement with Hall, the business was to go on under the firm name, 'Franklin and Hall,' and he was to receive, each year, for eighteen years, £1000. He owned a farm in New Jersey and houses in Philadelphia. Beside these sources of income, he had established young men in the printing business in various colonies and in the West Indies, from whom he received a per cent of income." — *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by H. A. Davidson.

4. philosophical studies: studies in science.

7. my electrical experiments: begun in the winter of 1746–1747, and continued, with interruptions, until the end of his life. The most famous experiment of all, the drawing of electricity from the clouds on the kite-string, took place in June of 1752. (See page 251.)

19. magic squares or circles: numbers so arranged in columns that the sums taken in any direction are equal. In this mathematical game, which seems to have been very popular in his day, Franklin became extremely skillful, devising squares more complicated than any that had been made before. On the opposite page is one of his simpler inventions, with Franklin's own explanation of its "magic" properties.

52	61	4	13	20	29	36	45
14	3	62	51	46	35	30	19
53	60	5	12	21	28	37	44
11	6	59	54	43	38	27	22
55	58	7	10	23	26	39	42
9	8	57	56	41	40	25	24
50	63	2	15	18	31	34	47
16	1	64	49	48	33	32	17

1. Every straight row (horizontal or vertical) of 8 numbers added together, makes 260, and half each row half of 260.

2. The bent row of 8 numbers, ascending and descending diagonally, viz. from 16 ascending to 10, and from 23 descending to 17; and every one of its parallel bent rows of 8 numbers make 260. — Also the bent row from 52 descending to 54, and from 43 ascending to 45; and every one of its parallel bent rows of 8 numbers make 260. — Also the bent row from 45 to 43, descending to the left, and from 23 to 17, descending to the right, and every one of its parallel bent rows of 8 numbers, make 260. — Also the bent row from 52 to 54, descending to the right, and from 10 to 16, descending to the left, and every one of its parallel bent rows of 8 numbers, make 260. — Also the parallel bent rows next to the above-mentioned, which are shortened to 3 numbers ascending, and 3 descending, etc., as from 53 to 4 ascending, and from 29 to 44 descending, make, with the 2 corner numbers, 260. — Also the 2 numbers 14, 61 ascending, and 36, 19 descending, with the lower 4 numbers situated like them, viz., 50, 1, descending, and 32, 47, ascending, make 260. — And, lastly, the 4 corner numbers, with the 4 middle numbers, make 260. — B. F.

PAGE **151,** LINE **16. Carlisle:** a settlement established on the frontier in 1751, about 100 miles west of Philadelphia, now the seat of the United States Indian Training and Industrial School.

PAGE **152,** LINE **30. Dr. Thomas Bond:** See page 181, line 5.

31. establishing a hospital: It was two years after this that the first building of the Pennsylvania Hospital was erected on its present site. The inscription on the cornerstone was written by Franklin. This hospital has been described as "the most ancient in America, and for fifty years the best appointed in the world."

PAGE **155,** LINE **10. Gilbert Tennent:** the most famous member of a notable family of colonial preachers. He was an admirer and friend of Whitefield.

PAGE **156,** LINE **1. very elegant meeting-house:** This was abandoned in 1837, though the society established by Tennent still exists and worships in a new church at the corner of Twenty-first and Walnut Streets.

PAGE **158,** LINE **12. Vauxhall:** a famous pleasure garden of eighteenth-century London, brilliantly lighted at night. It was laid out in 1661, and was originally called the "New Spring Gardens at Foxhall." *Spectator*, No. 383, gives an interesting account of an evening spent by Sir Roger de Coverley at Vauxhall. Descriptions of literary interest also occur in Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker* and Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*. The gardens were closed in 1859.

PAGE **159,** LINE **5. Craven Street:** For many years when staying in London Franklin had rooms at 27 Craven Street, a court leading out of the Strand near Charing Cross.

6. a birch broom: a broom made of birch twigs for heavy sweeping.

17. the gutter . . . in the middle: London streets of the eighteenth century often sloped from the shop doors, without any curb-stone, to a single gutter, or kennel, in the middle. Dust and refuse were swept into this central drain, where they remained until a shower washed them away.

PAGE **160**, LINE **4. Westminster**: formerly a separate city, but now a part of London.

PAGE **161**, LINE **3. the Strand and Fleet Street**: two of the oldest and busiest streets of London.

22. guineas: See page 71, line 8, and note.

PAGE **162**, LINE **8. six hundred pounds**: probably the pound sterling, as paid by Great Britain, and so about $3000.

10. a variety of improvements: Some of the more important of these were increasing the frequency of mails, establishing a penny post in large cities, straightening the routes of post-riders, advertising unclaimed letters, and putting the whole system on a sound business basis.

14. the ministers: the English cabinet, or political chiefs.

20. the College of Cambridge: Harvard awarded Franklin the honorary degree of M.A. in July, 1753; Yale in the following September. (See page 81, line 14, and note.)

PAGE **163**, LINE **4. congress**: the fourth convention of colonial delegates, held at Albany, to discuss the French and Indian wars.

5. the Lords of Trade: a commission established sixty years before to take charge of affairs in the American colonies. The full title of this board was the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

6. the Six Nations: a famous league of six Indian tribes — Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora, called by the French the Iroquois Confederacy.

8. Governor Hamilton: James Hamilton, mayor of Philadelphia in 1745, and governor of Pennsylvania from 1759 to 1763 and again in 1771 and 1773. He took a leading part in the defense of the colonies against the Indians, and after the Revolution was president of Philadelphia College and head of the Philosophical Society. (See page 54, line 1, and note.)

13. Thomas Penn: son of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, and one of the proprietors of the colony at this time (1754).

21. we met . . . at Albany: Just before starting for Albany, Franklin wrote and published in his paper, the *Gazette*, one of the most significant articles that ever came from his pen. As a heading he printed the picture of a snake cut into ten pieces, each piece marked with initials to represent one or more of the American colonies. Underneath the fragments of the snake was the motto JOIN OR DIE. The article itself was a vigorous argument for an immediate union of all the colonies against the French and Indians.

27. James Alexander: an eminent colonial lawyer, attorney-general of New York, 1721–1723, and one of the founders of the American Philosophical Society.

28. Kennedy: Archibald Kennedy, collector of customs at the port of New York, and a member of the provincial council in 1750. He was the author of two books which showed a clear and sympathetic understanding of conditions in America.

PAGE **164,** LINE **18. prerogative . . . democratic:** In the colonies the plan for union was rejected because it seemed to yield too much to the royal power, whereas in England it was rejected because it seemed to be giving too much authority to the people.

28. My plan: printed in full in Sparks's *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, volume iii, pages 22–55.

30. the winter following: the winter of 1754–1755, when Franklin was forty-nine years old.

31. Governor Shirley: William Shirley, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony from 1741 to 1749 and again from 1753 to 1756. He organized the expedition which captured Louisburg in 1745, and after the death of Braddock he was for a while commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. (See page 180, line 26, and note.)

PAGE **165,** LINE **12. Look round,** etc.: the first two lines of the tenth satire of Juvenal, as translated by the English poet John Dryden.

29. Mr. Morris: Robert Hunter Morris, governor of Pennsylvania from 1754 to 1756. He must not be confused with Robert Morris, financier and signer of the Declaration of Independence.

PAGE **167**, LINE **12. Sancho Panza**: the humorous attendant of the knight Don Quixote in the Spanish novel of that name by Cervantes.

18. The proprietor: the real governor of the colony, who usually lived in England. At this time Robert Morris was the active governor of the colony and Thomas Penn was the "proprietor" in England.

29. their deputies: the governors sent over by the proprietors to manage affairs for them in the colony.

PAGE **168**, LINE **9. War . . . with France**: Though hostilities on the frontier had been brewing for more than a year, war was not actually declared until 1756.

11. Crown Point: an important trading post and fort on Lake Champlain which had been in the hands of the French since 1731. The English expeditions directed against it in 1755 and 1756 both failed. **Mr. Quincy**: This was the first Josiah Quincy (1709–1784), an early member of the illustrious Quincy family of Massachusetts, and a friend and correspondent of both Franklin and Washington.

12. Mr. Pownall: Thomas Pownall, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony from 1757 to 1760, and a stanch supporter of the colonists. The friendship which he formed at this time with Franklin continued throughout their lives.

27. Loan Office: a bureau, or department, established in Pennsylvania to receive loans from the colonists for the purpose of aiding the government.

PAGE **170**, LINE **6. General Braddock**: Edward Braddock was sixty years old and a soldier of long experience when he came to Virginia in 1755. His American campaign was a series of blunders and calamities. In the following pages Franklin gives a fair estimate of Braddock's character and ability.

7. Alexandria: a town on the Potomac River about five miles below the spot where Washington now stands.

8. Fredericktown: Frederick, as it is now called, seventy miles northwest of Alexandria, has been made famous by Whittier's ballad, *Barbara Frietchie*.

PAGE **171**, LINE **8. the ministers**: the English government which had sent the expedition to America.

23. Lancaster: a town in Pennsylvania, seventy miles west of Philadelphia.

PAGE **172**, LINE **28. My son**: William Franklin at this time was comptroller of the general post office for the colonies. It was not until 1762 that he became the governor of New Jersey.

PAGE **174**, LINE **7. Sir John St. Clair**: a British cavalry officer in Braddock's army.

24. While I was at the camp: It was here, in April, 1755, that Franklin, then a man of forty-nine, first met George Washington, a youth of twenty-three, who was one of Braddock's aides.

PAGE **175**, LINE **20. These twenty parcels**: A few items in the packages need explanation. Muscovado (a Spanish word) was brown sugar; bohea was black tea; biscuit were hard crackers; a keg was a small cask, or firkin; Jamaica spirits were rum. The " do " in the second and fourth items is an abbreviation of " ditto," *i.e.*, the same, as above.

PAGE **176**, LINE **8. too much self-confidence**: The youthful George Washington, who had joined the expedition as a military aide, also discovered Braddock's self-confidence and pride in the superiority of his trained English troops. Like Franklin, he tried in vain to persuade the general to employ Indian scouts and proceed through the wilderness with caution. When it was too late, Braddock recognized the blunder he had made, and in his last moments he " murmured praises " of the Virginia troops, and hoped that he might live to reward them.

10. George Croghan: an Indian trader in Pennsylvania who was captain of provincials in Braddock's expedition.

18. Fort Duquesne: a fort built by the French at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, where Pittsburgh now stands. It was named for one of the greatest naval officers of France, Marquis Duquesne.

19. Frontenac: a point on the Canadian side of Lake Ontario which the French had strongly fortified. It is the site of the present Kingston.

PAGE **179,** LINE **5. put us out of conceit:** give us an unfavorable opinion.

12. Captain Orme: apparently one of Braddock's closest friends. He left an important manuscript journal of the expedition.

25. some letters of the general: In a letter dated June 5, 1755, General Braddock wrote to the Secretary of State in England:

> Before I left Williamsburgh, the Quarter-Master General told me that I might depend upon twenty-five hundred horses and two hundred wagons from Virginia and Maryland; but I had great reason to doubt it, having experienced the false dealings in all of this country with whom I had been concerned. Hence, before my departure from Frederick, I agreed with Mr. Benjamin Franklin, Postmaster in Pennsylvania, who has great credit in that Province, to hire one hundred and fifty wagons and the necessary number of horses. This he accomplished with promptitude and fidelity, and it is almost the only instance of address and integrity which I have seen in all these provinces. — Sparks's *Writings of George Washington*, volume ii, page 78.

28. David Hume: one of the most noted English philosophers and historians of Franklin's time.

PAGE **180,** LINE **6. bought servants:** See page 70, line 13, and note; also page 255.

9. Dunbar: Thomas Dunbar, a colonel in the expedition against Fort Duquesne, who took command of the army after Braddock had been killed.

26. General Shirley: William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, who after Braddock's defeat for a while was commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. One of his sons was killed in the battle of Fort Duquesne. (See page 164, line 31, and note.)

PAGE **181,** LINE **19. Dr. Bond:** See page 152, line 30.

PAGE **183,** LINE **14. I wrote a dialogue:** This important document was first printed in Franklin's own paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, on December 18, 1755. The following spring it was reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in London.

32. Gnadenhut: a village in Northampton county, seventy miles north of Philadelphia. **Moravians:** See page 147, line 20, and note; also pages 189–190.

PAGE **184**, LINE **4. Bethlehem**: founded by the Moravians in 1742; now noted for the manufacture of iron and steel.

15. Spangenberg: August Gottlieb Spangenberg, a bishop of the Moravian church, and for twenty years a worker among the German settlers in Pennsylvania.

29. Minisink: falls on Stony Creek, north of Gnadenhut.

PAGE **187**, LINE **31. Mr. Beatty**: the Reverend Charles Beatty (1715–1772), a native of Ireland, who became one of the greatest of colonial preachers. He was particularly successful in his work among the Indians and settlers on the frontier. It is interesting to note as characteristic of the times that Beatty was the father of eleven children, and that four of his sons served with distinction in the Revolutionary War.

PAGE **189**, LINE **7. worked for a common stock**: put all their earnings together and shared them equally; that is, they were communists.

PAGE **190**, LINE **15. returned to Philadelphia**: Franklin reached Philadelphia about the middle of February, 1756, after two months' service in the field. Though he always declared that he was unsuited for soldiering, when a sense of duty urged him he accepted military command and carried through a hard winter expedition with his usual energy and thoroughness.

19. Dr. B.: Probably this was Dr. Bond, referred to before on page 152, line 30, and again on page 181, line 19.

23. ***Dialogue:*** See page 183, line 14, and note.

PAGE **192**, LINE **11. the exemption of his estate**: The proprietors of the colony in England maintained that their property in Pennsylvania should be exempt from all taxation, even when money was to be raised for military defense against the French and Indians. The assembly, on the other hand, demanded that the proprietors pay their share of taxes. In this wrangle, which lasted for years, Franklin vigorously supported the assembly.

20. Sir Everard Fawkener: English merchant, ambassador, friend of Voltaire, and postmaster general from 1745 until his death in 1758.

PAGE **193**, LINE **10**. **Dunbar**: See page 178, line 13.

27. Captain Denny: Governor Morris, worn out by the wrangling of assembly and proprietors, retired in 1756. Captain William Denny, appointed by the Penns to fill his place, was governor of Pennsylvania for the next three years.

31. my philosophical reputation: my reputation as a scientist. The honorary degrees which Franklin received from Harvard, Yale, and the University of St. Andrews in Scotland were given him in recognition of his discoveries in electricity. (See page 162, line 20, and note.)

PAGE **194**, LINE **1**. **Dr. Spence**: On page 150 Franklin speaks of purchasing the electrical apparatus of a Dr. Spence who had come from England to lecture in the colonies.

7. Mr. Collinson: Peter Collinson (1694–1768), English naturalist, antiquary, and student of electricity. Franklin first became acquainted with Collinson as early as 1730 when he wrote to the Englishman for advice concerning the organization of the subscription library. The friendship thus formed continued for nearly forty years. Franklin's letters to Collinson, in which he gave the results of his electrical experiments, were published in both English and French, and it was largely through them that his work in science became known in Europe. (For an account of Franklin's scientific achievements, see pages 250–253.) **the Royal Society**: established by charter in 1662 as the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge. The word "fellow" in England is used to designate a regular member of a learned organization. On page 198 Franklin tells the story of his election to the Royal Society in 1752.

8. a glass tube: The tubes then commonly used to generate electricity were two feet and a half long, and as thick as a man could conveniently grasp. They were rubbed vigorously with a piece of silk cloth or buckskin, and held in contact with the object to be charged, such as the Leyden jar.

21. Mr. Kinnersley: This early friend of Franklin's later moved to Boston, where he lectured on electrical subjects. Some of Franklin's most important scientific letters were addressed to him.

PAGE **195**, LINE **18**. **sameness of lightning with electricity:** It was this subject which particularly interested Franklin, and it was the one which eventually gave him widest renown in the field of science. (See page 251 for an account of the kite-flying experiment.)

19. Dr. Mitchel: John Mitchel, an English botanist of some note, who had lived most of his early life in Virginia. He was a friend and correspondent of Peter Collinson.

22. Dr. Fothergill: John Fothergill (1712–1780), one of the most noted English physicians of the eighteenth century. Throughout his life he was in close touch with the colonies in America and sympathized with them in their troubles with the mother country. He wrote a strong pamphlet in 1765 advocating the repeal of the Stamp Act, and even as late as 1774, he coöperated with Franklin in drawing up a scheme of reconciliation. Among his other writings was a life of his friend Peter Collinson. At his death Franklin wrote of him, "I can hardly conceive that a better man has ever existed."

25. Cave . . . *Gentleman's Magazine:* Edward Cave began to publish the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1731. This famous monthly, which is still regularly issued, is now the oldest periodical of its kind in the English language.

29. a quarto volume: See page 6, line 23, and note.

PAGE **196**, LINE **1**. **Count de Buffon:** George Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, most famous for his *Natural History* in forty-four volumes, the classic work of its kind.

3. M. Dalibard: The "M." is an abbreviation of the French "monsieur," equivalent to our "Mr." Dalibard, who had translated Franklin's letters to Collinson into French, was the first person to demonstrate that lightning and electricity are the same. He made his experiment on May 10, 1752, just a month before Franklin flew his kite at Philadelphia. Neither man knew of the other's achievement until several months had passed.

5. the Abbé Nollet: Jean Antoine Nollet, a clergyman whose tastes lay all in the direction of experimental research, especially in the field of electricity. He was a member of the London Royal Society and the Academy of Sciences at Paris.

14. a volume of letters: nine letters, six of which are addressed to Franklin. The book was published in 1753.

PAGE **197,** LINE **11. Messrs.:** the French abbreviation of " messieurs," plural of " monsieur." The abbreviation MM. is also used.

29. Dr. Watson: Sir William Watson, celebrated physician, naturalist, and electrician. In 1745, in honor of his researches in electricity, he was awarded the Copley medal. (See the following note.)

PAGE **198,** LINE **11. medal of Sir Godfrey Copley:** Sir Godfrey Copley, a member of the Royal Society, by his will in 1709 bequeathed " one hundred pounds in trust for the Royal Society of London for improving natural knowledge, to be laid out in experiments, or otherwise for the benefit thereof, as they shall direct and appoint." Since 1736 the society has annually awarded a gold medal to some one who has done notable and original work in science.

14. Lord Macclesfield: George Parker, second earl of Macclesfield, astronomer and scientist, for twelve years president of the Royal Society. His " very handsome speech " may be found in Sparks's *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, volume v, page 499.

16. Our new governor: Captain William Denny arrived in Philadelphia about the middle of August, 1756.

PAGE **200,** LINE **14.** ***Historical Review:*** About this time — in the autumn of 1756 — Franklin and his son set about preparing a complete history of the controversy between the assembly and the proprietors from the time of William Penn to that of Governor Denny. William Franklin was the writer of this work, his father supplying suggestions, documents, and notes. This production, to which Franklin refers as the *Historical Review*, attracted wide attention in England as well as in the colonies. In his life of our autobiographer James Parton says: " Franklin took care that copies should reach the hands of every man in England and in America whose good opinion could forward or whose ill opinion could hinder the cause. He sent to his partner, David Hall, five hundred copies for sale and distribution in Philadelphia, twenty-

five copies to his nephew, Mecom, in Boston, and twenty-five to his old partner, James Parker, in New York, — booksellers all of them."

By such activities as this Franklin fostered among the people of the colonies that spirit of independence which eventually led to the Revolution.

16. a man of letters: one interested in books and something of a writer himself.

19. my old friend James Ralph: See pages 52 and 59. Since Franklin last saw him, which was probably in 1724, Ralph had earned his living in England as historian, poet, and miscellaneous writer for the magazines. Altogether more than twenty books came from his pen, none of which are remembered to-day.

22. Prince Frederic: eldest son of George II and father of George III. At the time of Ralph's connection with him he was Prince of Wales.

25. *Dunciad:* The lines in which Pope " annihilated " Ralph are given in the note on page 52, line 8.

PAGE **201,** LINE **2. their deputies:** the governors sent over by the proprietaries in England.

5. appointed me their agent: Franklin and Isaac Norris were appointed by the assembly to go to England, but Norris pleaded advanced age and Franklin went alone.

10. Lord Loudoun: John Campbell, fourth earl of Loudoun, was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America early in 1756. In the following year he was recalled because of his inexcusable dallying and general inefficiency.

15. endeavor an accommodation: try to arrange an agreement or compromise.

PAGE **204,** LINE **7. St. George on the signs:** A representation of St. George, patron saint of England, usually pictured in the act of slaying a dragon, was common on sign-boards of shops and taverns.

10. Mr. Pitt: William Pitt, in 1756 prime minister of England, and later earl of Chatham. During the Revolution, like Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox, he sympathized entirely with the colonies.

11. Amherst and Wolfe: Lord Jeffrey Amherst and James Wolfe, the men who conquered Canada and brought it finally under British domain.

21. Louisburg: The fortress at Louisburg in Nova Scotia had been temporarily taken from the French in 1745. When captured by Amherst and Wolfe in 1758 it became a permanent English possession. (See page 143, line 19, and note.)

PAGE **205,** LINE **28. my wonder is diminished:** Franklin's criticism of the military abilities of Braddock and Loudoun might apply with equal justice to nearly all the British officers sent over to subdue the colonies during the Revolution. Some one has said that Cornwallis was the only really able general sent to America, and he was not properly supported and came too late. **General Shirley:** See page 180, line 26, and note.

PAGE **206,** LINE **17. the worm:** a sea mollusk which on account of its shape is often spoken of as a worm. It bores into and destroys the timbers of ships, piles, and other submerged woodwork, especially in the waters of tropic oceans.

PAGE **207,** LINE **31. As to my balance,** etc.: Franklin does not mention the matter again in the *Autobiography*, but it is almost certain that he never received the money which was due him for his expenses in connection with General Braddock's campaign.

PAGE **210,** LINE **1. We were . . . chased:** by French warships.

2. had soundings: touched bottom with lead and line, thus knowing that they were near shore.

3. had a good observation: were able to find our position by observing the sun.

4. Falmouth: a town on the coast of Cornwall with one of the best harbors on the English coast.

12. Scilly Isles: a group of small islands twenty-five miles from Land's End, the southwestern tip of England.

13. St. George's Channel: the water separating southern Ireland from Wales, noted for its dangerous currents.

15. Sir Cloudesley Shovel: a famous English admiral whose flagship, the *Association*, was wrecked on one of the Scilly Islands in 1707. He was cast ashore in a half-drowned condition and murdered by robbers.

28. to wear round: to put a ship on a different tack; to come about.

PAGE **211**, LINE **10. a most pleasing spectacle:** In a letter from Franklin to his wife, dated at Falmouth July 17, 1757, after giving her a similar account of his voyage, escape, and landing, he adds: "The bell ringing for church, we went thither immediately, and, with hearts full of gratitude, returned sincere thanks to God for the mercies we had received."

15. with my son: William Franklin, who accompanied his father as secretary. It was while they were in England together that they made those "inquiries among the remains of their ancestors" to which Franklin refers in the opening sentences of the *Autobiography*. (See page 3, line 4.)

16. Stonehenge: a celebrated circle of immense stone pillars not far from Salisbury in southern England. Modern research has almost certainly proved that they were erected by early Britons long before the beginning of the Christian era.

17. Lord Pembroke's house: Wilton House, the seat of the earl of Pembroke, is still noted for its fine collection of ancient sculpture and splendid paintings. It stands but a few miles from Stonehenge and Salisbury.

PAGE **212**. These last six pages of the *Autobiography* were not printed in English until 1868. An account of their discovery and publication by John Bigelow is given on page 331.

LINE **1. Mr. Charles:** Pennsylvania's agent in London for ordinary affairs, as Franklin was agent in the special matter of taxation of the proprietary estates.

2. Dr. Fothergill: See page 195, line 22, and note.

13. Lord Granville: John Carteret, who succeeded to the title of Earl Granville in 1744. Since 1751 he had been Lord President of the Privy Council, a committee appointed by the sovereign to give advice on matters of state.

PAGE **213**, LINE **5**. **the king is the legislator of the colonies**: In other words, Granville said that the Americans were to have no voice in making their laws, and that in the final decision of all matters Parliament and the king were to have absolute power. No wonder Franklin was alarmed; for he understood his countrymen well enough to know that the attitude taken by Granville would almost certainly lead to war.

27. Mr. T. Penn: This son of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, and now (1757) chief proprietary of the colony, had none of his father's generosity or wisdom. On the contrary, in all matters of colonial government he was selfish, narrow, and short-sighted.

28. Spring Garden: a district near the northeast corner of St. James's Park, a fashionable place of recreation during the reigns of James I and Charles I.

PAGE **214**, LINE **10**. **their great suit**: This was the question of the north boundary of Maryland which about 1730 had threatened to bring on war between that colony and Pennsylvania. The dispute was finally settled by the drawing of the famous Mason and Dixon's line in 1767.

Various members of the Calvert family, the lords of Baltimore, were the proprietary owners of Maryland as were the Penns of Pennsylvania.

PAGE **215**, LINE **13**. **Governor Denny**: See page 198, line 16, and also the last sentences of the *Autobiography*.

PAGE **216**, LINE **4**. **the money**: This was paper money issued by the colony in accordance with the act that taxed the proprietary estate as well as the estates of the people.

PAGE **217**, LINE **11**. **the General**: the attorney-general of Great Britain.

14. were never put in execution: Not long after writing these words, on April 17, 1790, Franklin died. He had brought the story of his life down to the autumn of 1757. An outline of the remaining thirty-three years is given on page 319.

GLOSSARY

[Brief definitions are here given of those words in the *Autobiography* which may be unfamiliar to high-school students. Many of these words are in common use to-day. Others are employed by Franklin in a sense that has become rare or obsolete. Comments upon persons, places, and events will be found in the explanatory notes on pages 338–391.]

abate: decrease, diminish.
abominable: detestable.
abortive: vain, ineffectual.
accelerate: hasten, quicken.
accommodate: arrange, settle.
accommodation: adjustment of differences.
acquiesce: agree, assent.
adjacent: lying near, close to.
administration: service of worship, ministration.
ætat (abbreviation of the Latin *ætatis*): of age, aged.
affable: courteous, pleasant.
affluence: plenty, wealth.
agitations: violent motions, gesticulations.
agreeably: in accordance with.
aides-de-camp: a general's staff of assistants and advisers.
alacrity: cheerful briskness.
Albion: England.
allegation: positive assertion, declaration.
altercation: dispute.
amend: improve, make over.
amendment: change, improvement.
amicably: peaceably.
ample: full, detailed.
anchovy: a herring-like fish.
animosity: violent hatred.
annihilate: destroy.
anonymous: without name or signature; unsigned.
antechamber: a chamber leading into a chief apartment; waiting-room.
apparitor: an officer who carries out the orders of magistrates.
apprehend: imagine, fear.
apprehension: understanding.
apprehensive: fearful.
approbation: approval.
arbitrary: tyrannical, despotic, high-handed.
arbitrator: judge, umpire.
arduous: difficult.
articled: bound by articles of apprenticeship; indentured.
atheist: one who denies the existence of God.

auditories: audience.
augment: enlarge, increase.
avarice: greed, cupidity.
averse: opposed, unwilling.

beneficent: doing good, kind.
blanks (page 88): blank forms of contracts, deeds, etc.
bode: prophesy, portend.
bound: obliged to pay by law.
brazier: a worker in brass.
broadside: a large sheet of paper printed on one side only.
bumper: a glass brim-full.
burgess: delegate, representative in the legislature.
burlesque: mock, make fun of.

calumniate: slander, defame.
candid: fair, just; frank.
candor: fairness, frankness.
capacious: large, spacious.
capacity: ability, talent.
capillaire: sirup flavored with orange-flower water.
capitulation: the making of terms, agreement, treaty.
captious: irritable, touchy.
carriage: heavy wagon.
carrying-horse: pack-horse.
case: conditions, standing; a shallow tray for type.
celerity: speed.
chagrin: wounded pride.
chapel of ease: a chapel for persons residing a long distance from a parish church.
chapman: peddler.
character: (1) a written statement as to habit, reputations, and personal character; (2) cipher, shorthand.
chargeable: expensive.
chid (past of *chide*): rebuked.
chintz: calico from India.
civility: politeness, courtesy.
close: come to an agreement.
command: overlook, dominate.
compendious: abridged, condensed.
complaisant: obliging, civil.
complexion: character, nature.
compose: set up in type.
composing-room: room where type is set up in a printing establishment.
composition: settlement.
compositor: typesetter.
comptroller: superintendent.
compunction: regret, remorse.
concession: a point yielded.
concomitant: accompanying.
concurrence: approval; agreement.
conducing: contributing.
conformable: similar, consistent, agreeable.
confound: overcome in argument.
confute: overwhelm by argument, silence, refute.
confuting: argumentative.
congealed: frozen.
conjecture: surmise, guess.

connoisseur (kŏn′ĭ-sûr′): a trained expert in an art or science.
consequence: importance.
considerable: important, notable.
contraband: forbidden by law.
contrivance: scheme, device.
contrive: to form with skill.
conventicle: an assembly for worship, especially a secret illegal meeting.
conversation: behavior, manner of living, deportment.
conveyancer: one who draws up deeds, leases, etc., for the transferring of titles to property.
copy: manuscript to be set up in type.
copy-money: money paid by a publisher to an author; royalty.
corporal: bodily, physical.
countenance, in: with composed face, assured, not confused.
counteract: hinder, defeat.
croaker: grumbler, pessimist.
crown: English coin, five shillings, about $1.20.
cunning: stratagem, craft.
cut: an engraved block or plate for printing.
cutler: one who makes or deals in cutting instruments.

deal: boards of pine or fir.
decanter: a large wine glass.
decent: fit, suitable.
decry: belittle, discredit.
deduce: conclude, infer.
demean: humiliate, shame.
depose: say under oath.
destitute: lacking, bereft.
detraction: slander, censure.
dexterous: skillful, expert.
dialogue: a composition with two persons conversing.
diet: board, take meals.
digit: twelfth part of diameter of sun or moon.
disbursement: expenditure.
discharge: pay or settle for.
discomfiture: defeat.
discover: make known, uncover.
discretion: prudence, wisdom.
dispatch: speed, diligence.
disposition: inclination.
disputation: debate.
disquisition: discussion.
dissension: quarrel, discord.
dissipate: scatter, disperse.
distemper: disease.
divulge: make known, proclaim.
doggerel: trivial or worthless verses.
dogmatical: unduly positive, opinionated, dictatorial.
dolefully: sadly, dismally.
dormant: asleep, inactive.
doubt: suspect, fear.
draft: outline, sketch.
draft-board: checker-board.
dramming: drinking liquor.
draughts: checkers.

eighteen-pounders: cannon throwing eighteen-pound balls.
elegy: a mournful poem.
elevation: slight intoxication.
embargo: a government order prohibiting the departure of ships from port.
emission: publication.
emmet: an ant.
emolument: profit.
emulation: rivalry.
encumbered: burdened.
engaged: pledged, promised.
enmity: ill will, hostility.
ensign: flag; standard-bearer of a regiment.
enumerate: name over, recount.
equitable: reasonable, just.
equivocal: having two or more meanings, ambiguous.
eradicate: root up, destroy.
erratum: error, mistake.
escritoire: writing-desk.
espouse: promote, further.
esquire: a landed proprietor; a country gentleman, or "squire."
etymologist: a student of the origin of words.
evade: shun, avoid.
excise: custom duties, tax.
excommunicate: banish, cut off; a person shunned, boycotted.
exhortation: urgent advice.
expeditiously: speedily.
explication: explanation.
explicitly: exactly and fully.
expostulate: plead in protest, remonstrate.
exquisite: keen, intense.
extant: in existence.
extempore: without previous study or preparation.
extirpate: wipe out, destroy.
extricate: disentangle.

facetious: witty, jesting.
facilitate: make easy.
factor: agent, business representative.
factotum: "jack of all trades."
fallacious: misleading.
farthing: a small British coin, one fourth of a penny, or about half a cent.
felicity: happiness.
ferment: disturbance, tumult.
field-piece: small cannon mounted on wheels.
filial: pertaining to a son or daughter.
fine, in: in conclusion.
foppery: affectation.
forbearance: patience.
form: type ready for printing fastened in an iron frame.
fractious: irritable, peevish.
freethinker: one who forms opinions independently of the church; an unbeliever, skeptic.
frouzy: musty, stale.
frugal: economical, saving.
frugality: thrift, economy.
furze: a European shrub with yellow flowers, called also gorse.

game: gamble, bet.
gentry: people of education and social position.
glazier: one who sets glass.
gout: an inflammation of a joint.
grampus: a small whale.
gratify: pay, reward.
gratis: for nothing, freely.
great-coat: overcoat.
grimalkin: a cat.
gross: shameful, inexcusable.
ground-rent: money paid for the right to occupy and improve a piece of land.
grum: surly, morose, glum.
guinea: English coin of twenty-one shillings, or about $5.

habitude: habit, custom.
hasty-pudding: flour or oatmeal stirred into boiling water or milk; Indian meal mush.
hautboy: oboe.
heinous: odious, hateful.
heterodoxy: opinions differing from some standard such as the Bible; heresy.
home-spun: made at home, plain.
humors: bodily fluids formerly supposed to determine a person's health and temperament.
husbandman: farmer.
hypothesis: theory.

illiterate: uneducated.
import: meaning.
imposition: trickery, deceit; an unfair requirement.
impracticable: not usable or feasible; unmanageable.
inclemency: unpleasantness.
inculcate: teach, instill.
incumbrance: burden.
indefatigable: tireless.
indifferent: impartial, disinterested, unprejudiced.
indifferently: poorly.
indiscreet: imprudent, unwise.
indraught: inflow, inrush.
indulgence: favor, privilege.
inevitably: certainly.
inexactitude: inaccuracy.
infallibly: certainly, without fail.
infamous: disgraceful, evil.
infidel: one who denies the beliefs of Christianity and the truth of the Bible; a doubter, unbeliever.
ingenious: possessed of unusual mental powers; talented, clever.
ingenuity: cleverness, talent.
ingenuous: open, frank, candid.
inimical: unfriendly, hostile.
inordinate: excessive.
insolvent: unable to pay one's debts, bankrupt.
instance: request.
integrity: moral soundness, honesty, probity.
interposition: intervention.
intimidate: frighten, overawe.
invalid: of no force, void.

inventory: itemized list of goods with their estimated worth.
Irish lord: a kind of fish.
itinerant: traveling about the country, strolling.

jack: small flag used as a signal.
joiner: woodworker.
joint-stool: a stool made of parts fitted together, or jointed.
journeyman: skilled laborer who works for another.
judicious: wise, discreet.

kennel: channel, gutter.
kill: channel, creek, brook.
knave: rascal, rogue.
knot: a nautical mile (6080 feet).

lading: cargo, load.
lampooning: the writing of personal satire; libeling.
larboard: port, or left side.
laudable: praiseworthy.
league: about three miles.
legacy: a gift of property by will, bequest.
letter-founder: one who founds or casts type.
letters: type for printing.
levee: reception, party.
libel: defame, slander.
licentious: lawless.
lie: lodge, stay.
liking, on: on approval.
lively: animated, spirited.
log: a triangular piece of wood attached by a long cord, or log line, to a reel on a vessel, by means of which the speed is calculated.
logic: the art of reasoning.
louis d'or: a French gold coin worth about $4.50.
luminary: a body that gives light; the sun or moon.

main-top: platform at head of mainmast.
malice: spite, ill will.
manacle: fetter, restrain.
manor: the estate of a person of rank. (See note, page 5, line 5.)
matrices (plural of *matrix*): molds.
matron-like: grave, serious.
mean: of little value, shabby.
merlons: parts of a parapet between the openings.
mess: on shipboard a group of persons who regularly eat together.
metaphysical: philosophical; learned.
methinks: it seems to me.
metropolis: chief town.
minutes: records, notes.
misconception: misunderstanding.
mortify: deaden, humble.
multifarious: varied.
multiplicity: a great number.

necessitous: needy, poor.
nicety: exactness, precision.
nicknackeries: trifles.
novice: beginner.
null: not binding, void.
nuncupative: oral, not written; used chiefly of wills.

obnoxious: hateful, odious.
observation: good judgment.
obviate: meet, anticipate.
odium: hatred. **in odium with**: out of favor with.
office: duty, function.
out: put out; eject; oust.
overture: proposal, offer.

packet: mail-carrier; a vessel carrying mail on regular sailing days.
palisade: a long pointed stake.
parsimony: thrift, economy.
partisan: supporter, follower.
parts: ability, talent.
pastry-cook: baker.
pate: crown of the head.
patronage: assistance, support.
pecuniary: relating to money.
penny: English coin, one twelfth of shilling, or two cents.
perch: pole uniting front and back wheels of a wagon.
per diem: by the day.
peremptorily: positively.
perjure: break an oath or vow.
pernicious: hurtful, evil.
perpetuity: eternity.
person: bodily appearance.
perspicuity: clearness of expression or thought; lucidity.
persuasion: belief, creed.
pewter: an alloy of four parts tin and one lead.
physic: the practice of medicine.
pique: provoke, irritate.
pointing: punctuation.
polemic: pertaining to argument; controversial.
pollute: to stain, defile.
porringer: bowl for porridge.
posterity: descendants; all succeeding generations.
potter: maker of earthenware.
pound: English gold coin, twenty shillings, $4.86.
poz or **pos**: slang abbreviation for *positive*.
precept: rule, maxim, text.
preceptor: instructor.
precipitation: undue haste.
precision: accuracy.
predominancy: control.
prejudice: injury, harm.
pretty: fine, excellent.
priming: the powder ignited by a spark from a flint in firing flintlock guns.
pro and con: for and against.
probity: honesty, integrity.
prodigality: extravagance.
profession: statement.
proficiency: skill, ability.
profuse: liberal, lavish.
project: contrive, think out.
projector: planner, promoter.

prosecute: carry on, continue.
proselyte: a new convert.
prowess: courage plus skill.
prudent: cautious, wary.
puncheon: die, stamp, punch.
purblind: almost blind.
purveyor: provider, caterer.

quack: a "fake" doctor.
quagmire: bog, mud-hole.
quantum: amount, quantity.
quarterdeck: deck abaft the mainmast.
quarto: *See note on page 6, line 23.*

rancor: spite, resentment.
raree-show: a peep-show carried about in a box and exhibited on the street.
rectitude: correctness of moral principles, integrity.
register: book containing records of births, marriages, and deaths.
relinquish: give up, quit.
reluctance: unwillingness.
rendezvous: assemble, meet at an appointed place.
replete: filled.
reprisal: retaliation.
reprobate: condemn, reject.
revelation: God's disclosure of Himself, or His will, to man.
riding-place: anchorage.
riggite: jester, humorous person, wit.
road: harbor (often in plural, as Hampton *Roads*).
round-top: *See* **main-top.**

sack: a European white wine.
sagacious: wise, learned.
scavenger: street-cleaner.
scrivener: a professional writer who drew up documents, contracts, deeds, etc.
scrupulous: conscientious.
scurrilous: coarse, abusive.
sectary: a religious group, a sect, especially one that has separated from an established church.
servile: slavish, submissive.
shallop: light open boat.
shilling: English coin, twelve pence, about twenty-four cents.
shock: bushy, shaggy.
shrewd: keen, sharp-witted.
singularity: peculiarity.
sinister: unlucky.
sixpence: British silver coin, six pennies or one half shilling, about twelve cents.
skugg: squirrel (old English).
slider: runner of sled.
snow: a square-rigged vessel like a brig.
snug: concealed, private.
solid: reliable, substantial.
sophister: deceiver, "sly fox."
sorts: type (see note on page 61, line 20).
sotting: drinking liquor.
speculative: theoretical.
spermaceti: wax made from sperm-whale oil.
spit: narrow point of land.
stockade: fortification made of

trunks of trees driven close together into the ground.

strike: to hook a fish.

studding sail: light sail set at the side of a square sail in favorable winds.

subaltern: officer below a captain.

subsequent: following.

successive: consecutive.

sundry: several, various.

superfluity: a useless or needless article.

synod: a meeting of clergymen to discuss religious matters; a church council.

tart: sharp, severe, caustic.

tenet: belief, doctrine.

terra firma: solid ground.

thole-pins: oar-locks.

thwart (noun): rower's seat in a small boat.

thwart (verb): oppose, frustrate.

tithe: a tenth part.

tolerable: fair, passable.

transactions: published records and addresses of a learned society.

transmigration: passage of a soul at death into another body (see note on page 6, line 15).

travesty: imitate in a ridiculous manner; burlesque.

trepan: trap, catch.

turner: a woodworker.

ultimo: of last month.

unleavened: without yeast.

unremitting: persevering.

unsolicited: unsought.

validity: worth, soundness.

vend: sell.

vendue: public auction.

veracity: truthfulness.

verity: truth, accuracy.

vested: committed to.

viands: food.

vicious: wicked, immoral.

viva voce: by word of mouth.

votary: devoted follower.

wait upon: call upon, visit.

warehouseman: clerk or salesman.

whelp: youth, "cub."

whimsical: fantastic.

withal: likewise, also.

writ: debt, mortgage.

yaw: turning of a ship from a straight course.

zealot: one who is carried away by zeal or enthusiasm; often a religious fanatic.

zealous: eager, enthusiastic.

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

[The questions that follow are based almost entirely upon incidents related in the *Autobiography*. A few refer to the notes. A list of more general questions will be found on page 420. Subjects for oral and written composition are given on page 424.]

CHAPTER I

1. What reasons does Franklin give for writing his autobiography?

2. How do you justify his writing the story of his own life?

3. Would you look forward to the reading of this life of Franklin more if it were written by some one else? Why? Why not?

4. What do you know about the bishop of St. Asaph?

5. Why was Franklin in England at this time (1771)?

6. Who was the "Dear Son" to whom he addressed his memoirs?

7. What sort of people were Franklin's ancestors in England?

8. What qualities did they possess that might produce a great man?

9. In what ways was Franklin's Uncle Benjamin an "ingenious man"?

10. How did Franklin's great-grandfather conduct family worship under difficulties?

11. Why did Josiah Franklin emigrate to America?

12. What comment have you to make on Josiah Franklin's family?

13. Why was bringing up a large family of children less difficult in 1700 than to-day?

14. Who was Peter Folger, and what was one characteristic of the man?

15. What contrast can you make between the ancestors of Franklin and of Washington? (See note on page 5, line 5.)

16. What can you tell briefly about Twyford? Ecton? Northamptonshire? Queen Mary? Cotton Mather?

CHAPTER II

1. What do you think of Uncle Benjamin's offer of "all his short-hand volumes of sermons"?

2. Why was Benjamin taken from the grammar school?

3. What work did he do in his father's shop?

4. Why does Franklin express no regret that he had so little school education?

5. What qualities of leadership did Franklin show as a small boy?

6. What seem to you the most striking qualities in Josiah Franklin's character?

7. What was his influence upon Benjamin?

8. Do you think that the Franklin home was, on the whole, a happy one? Give your reasons.

9. What lines in the epitaph written by Franklin for his parents do you particularly like? Why?

10. To which of his parents did Franklin evidently feel that he owed the more? Why?

11. Why do you think Benjamin disliked the trade of soap and candle making?

12. Do you sympathize at all with his desire to run away to sea? Why? Why not?

13. How did his father try to help him find a congenial occupation?

14. Why does Franklin make no mention of athletics in his boyhood?

15. How did he get hold of good books? What were some that he liked best?

16. Why do you think Franklin liked the printing business?

17. How did he earn money in his spare time?

18. Do you think Franklin's father took the right attitude toward his son's verse making? Why?

19. What differences can you point out between Franklin's boyhood and the boyhood of a youth to-day?

20. What information can you give about George Brownell? Abiah Franklin? the cutler's trade? *Pilgrim's Progress?* James Franklin? the apprenticeship system?

CHAPTER III

1. Why does Franklin speak of argument and debating as "a very bad habit"? Do you agree?

2. What comparison did Franklin's father make between his son's letters and those written by Collins?

3. How did Franklin use the *Spectator* to improve his own style?

4. What do you think of this method of learning to write effectively?

5. When did he find time for reading and study?

6. What do you think of his vegetable diet? How did it evidently benefit him?

7. How did Franklin improve his arithmetic, and also his skill in debating?

8. What comment will you make upon these efforts of Franklin to educate himself?

9. Do you agree with his statements on page 22 concerning "a positive, assuming manner"? Give your reasons.

10. What did Franklin contribute to his brother's paper? (See page 24.)

11. Why did he hand his articles in secretly and unsigned?

12. Can you account for the fact that he was not suspected of being their author?

13. How do you explain the differences and quarrels between the brothers?

14. How did James Franklin get into trouble with the authorities in Boston?

15. What did he do to evade the "order of the House"?

16. Why did Franklin finally run away from Boston? Who helped him and how?

17. Do you sympathize with him at all in his desire to seek his fortune in new surroundings? Give your reasons.

18. Why were his opportunities for advancement greater in some other city than Boston?

19. What signs of genius, if any, has Franklin so far revealed?

20. What can you tell briefly about the *Spectator?* the Socratic method? the *New England Courant?* Xenophon? Pope?

CHAPTER IV

1. What incidents of Franklin's journey to Philadelphia do you consider especially interesting?

2. Why was he suspected of being "a runaway servant"?

3. What made the journey much harder and more dangerous than the same trip would be to-day?

4. Can you explain why Franklin made the journey to New York by sea rather than by land?

5. What is remarkable about the last stage of the journey on the Delaware River?

6. In what ways did Franklin show good judgment and ability to take care of himself?

7. Why did he give his shilling in copper to the people in the boat?

8. Can you account for the detail with which he describes his arrival in Philadelphia?

9. Why has this arrival so often been quoted and illustrated?

10. Just where in Philadelphia did Franklin first eat, drink, and sleep?

11. How did Franklin happen to secure work with Keimer?

12. What opinions have you formed of Keimer as printer and man?

13. Was it fortunate or unfortunate for Benjamin that Keimer was such an inefficient workman? Give your reasons.

14. How did Franklin happen to go back to Boston sooner than he had intended?

15. How do you account for Governor Keith's taking so sudden and so strong an interest in Franklin?

16. What information have you about De.oe? a Quaker meeting? elegies? Robert Holmes? Governor Keith?

CHAPTER V

1. How did Benjamin behave when he visited his brother's shop in Boston?

2. What qualities of character in Benjamin naturally irritated James Franklin?

3. Why did his father decline to lend Benjamin money with which to establish a business in Philadelphia?

4. Do you think he took the right and reasonable course? Give your reasons.

5. What two important incidents occurred on the voyage back to Philadelphia?

6. Can you explain why Vernon trusted a boy of eighteen to collect a large sum of money for him?

7. How did Franklin's friendship with Collins progress, and how did it at last come to an end?

8. What does Benjamin say "was one of the first great errata of my life"? Do you agree?

9. How did Governor Keith offer to give Franklin further assistance?

10. What reasons do you think he really had for sending him to London?

11. What were some of Keimer's peculiarities?

12. What does Franklin say about his first love affair?

13. What induced Franklin to abandon his vegetable diet?

14. Who were some of his associates at this time in Philadelphia?

15. What was the contest in verse making, and how did it turn out?

16. What was the "serious agreement" made between Franklin and Osborne?

17. How do you account for the fact that Franklin does not seem to be lonesome or homesick at this time?

18. How do you explain Franklin's going on board ship "a little puzzled, but still not doubting"?

19. Why did no one tell him about the true character of the governor?

20. Tell briefly something about Governor Burnet; Captain Annis; James Ralph; Miss Read; Newcastle.

CHAPTER VI

1. What made the voyage to England pleasanter for Franklin than he had anticipated?
2. What surprises were awaiting him in London?
3. How did Franklin take his misfortune?
4. What contrast was there between Franklin's life in England and that of his friend, James Ralph?
5. How did Franklin come to write his first pamphlet? What was it about?
6. Why did he later try to destroy all the existing copies of this booklet?
7. Who were some of the notable men that he came to know in London?
8. In your opinion why was it that as a rule older men liked Franklin and treated him as an equal?
9. What do you think of the letter that he wrote to Sir Hans Sloane? (See note on page 58, line 28.)
10. How was his friendship with Ralph finally broken off?
11. What were some of Franklin's experiences at Palmer's printing shop?
12. How did Franklin's "water-drinking habits" affect him in London?
13. In what ways did he save money for his return to America?
14. What experience nearly led to Franklin's remaining in England?
15. Do you think he made a mistake in declining Wygate's offer? Give your reasons.
16. What incident of Mr. Denham's earlier business life does Franklin relate?
17. Why do you think Franklin admired Mr. Denham so greatly?
18. What harm, if any, had Franklin suffered from his enforced eighteen months in London?
19. In what four ways had this experience been of real benefit to him?

20. What can you tell briefly about Mr. Hamilton? Dr. Mandeville? Sir Hans Sloane? St. Veronica? Sir William Wyndham?

CHAPTER VII

1. In what way was Mr. Denham's death a blessing in disguise?
2. How would you describe the men employed by Keimer?
3. Why did Keimer offer Franklin a position with good wages?
4. What had been the history of George Webb, the Oxford scholar?
5. In what ways had the lives of Franklin and Webb been somewhat alike?
6. What marked contrast was there in their characters?
7. How did Franklin show his skill and ingenuity in Keimer's shop?
8. How and why did Keimer quarrel with Franklin?
9. Why did Franklin accept Keimer's apology and go to work for him again?
10. What was the proposal made by Hugh Meredith?
11. How did Franklin manage the printing of the paper money?
12. In what ways does Franklin at this time seem old and wise for his years?
13. What prophecy did Isaac Decow make concerning Franklin?
14. What made Franklin begin to suspect that his "religious beliefs were not very useful"?
15. Under what circumstances did Franklin and Meredith establish their business?
16. What do you think of Mr. Mickle's forebodings?
17. What effect did they have upon Franklin?
18. What qualifications for success in business can you point out in Franklin at this time?
19. Do you think that he had bettered himself by going to Philadelphia? Give your reasons.
20. Give a few facts about Hugh Meredith; a crimp's bill; Burlington; deism; Dryden.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Why do you suppose Franklin established the Junto?
2. Who were some of the first members?
3. What did they discuss and what did they accomplish? (See page 262.)
4. What were some of the questions put to candidates for membership?
5. How did Franklin show his industry, and with what results?
6. What were the *Busy Body* papers?
7. How did they compare with Franklin's contributions to his brother's paper in Boston? (See note on page 82, line 21.)
8. How did Franklin happen to start a paper of his own?
9. In what ways was Franklin's *Gazette* superior to other papers of the day?
10. How did he secure the printing of the assembly?
11. Who were the friends that offered to help him, and on what condition?
12. Why did Meredith wish to withdraw from the partnership?
13. Why do you think Franklin was wise to take the business wholly into his own hands?
14. By what means did he get the job of printing the new paper money?
15. In what way did his friend Hamilton help him at this time?
16. What quality in Franklin's character, in your judgment, has helped him most in his business so far?

CHAPTER IX

1. What signs were there that Franklin was beginning to prosper in business?
2. What became of Keimer and David Harry?
3. What criticism does Franklin offer of Bradford's policy concerning the post office?
4. Why did Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey not encourage Franklin to marry their relative?
5. What chances did Franklin take when he married Mrs. Rogers?

6. When and under what circumstances had she first seen Franklin?

7. Do you think it a fair statement to say that Franklin had in him very little sentiment and romance? Give your reasons.

8. What was Franklin's "first project of a public nature"? How did it work out?

9. Why was the subscription library such an important factor in the life of the city?

10. Why do you think such a library especially appealed to Franklin?

11. How did he help the subscription project to run more smoothly?

12. In what ways did Franklin practice frugality and thrift?

13. How did his wife help him in his business?

14. What did Franklin at this time "esteem the essentials" of religion?

15. What criticism does he offer of the preaching in his church?

CHAPTER X

1. Why did Franklin come to the conclusion that he wanted to "arrive at moral perfection"?

2. What difficulties did he encounter?

3. Just what was his plan for attaining the various virtues?

4. How did he make use of his little notebook?

5. What do you think of his list of virtues?

6. What others do you think he might have added?

7. Do you agree with the order in which Franklin arranged his virtues? Give your reasons.

8. Which of the mottoes, or explanations, seem to you the best?

9. What is your own honest opinion of the plan and its workability?

10. Do you believe you could yourself use some such plan to-day? Why? Why not?

11. Why did Franklin have so much trouble with order? (See page 106.)

12. What is the meaning, or significance, of the story of the speckled ax?

13. What does Franklin's outline of his day's work show us about the man?

14. Why did he add the thirteenth virtue, humility?

15. What does he say his plan of life actually did for him?

CHAPTER XI

1. What led Franklin to think of forming a United Party for Virtue?

2. What does the "great and extensive project" indicate as to Franklin's thoughts and character?

3. How did *Poor Richard's Almanac* get its name? (See page 241.)

4. Where in the almanac did Franklin insert his proverbs? Why did he put them in?

5. How did he gather all his wise sayings into one article? (See page 243.)

6. What effect did this publication have?

7. How did Franklin use his newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, to give instruction to the people?

8. What was his attitude on the question of printing "personal abuse" in his paper?

9. How did he extend his business at this time?

10. What does he say about the education of women for business? Do you agree?

11. Why did Franklin like Mr. Hemphill's preaching, and what did he do for him?

12. What "unlucky occurrence" hurt Mr. Hemphill's cause?

13. What do you think of Franklin's defense of his preaching "good sermons composed by others, than bad ones of his own manufacture"? (See note on page 120, line 27.)

14. What foreign languages did Franklin study, and how did he succeed?

15. What does he say about the study of Latin?

16. What arguments can you think of on both sides of this question? (See note on page 121, line 30.)

17. How did Franklin " make ample amends " to his brother James?

18. What regrets does he express concerning the death of his son?

19. How was the Junto expanded to cover a wider field?

20. Can you explain just how these clubs influenced public opinion?

CHAPTER XII

1. How did Franklin win the friendship of his rival for the position of clerk of the assembly?

2. What advantages did this position give him?

3. Why did Franklin accept so readily the position of deputy postmaster general of Philadelphia?

4. What reasons does he give for Bradford's losing that position?

5. What was there unjust about the arrangement of the city watch, or police?

6. What improvements did Franklin and his friends bring about?

7. How did he also improve the methods of fighting fires?

8. How do you account for Franklin's success in bringing about these reforms?

9. Who was Mr. Whitefield and what influence did he have upon the people of Philadelphia?

10. For what purpose was the large building, " about the size of Westminster Hall," erected?

11. In what respects did Franklin and Whitefield disagree concerning the Orphan Home?

12. What do you think of the influence of Whitefield's eloquence upon Franklin?

13. How did Franklin " reconcile himself to the newspaper accounts of Whitefield's having preached to 25,000 people in the fields "?

14. What is there about this experiment quite characteristic of Franklin?

15. In what way, according to Franklin, did Whitefield hurt his own reputation?

16. Have you seen or heard of any evangelist to-day that you can compare with Whitefield?

17. After reading these pages would you call Franklin a spiritual man? Give your reasons.

18. Why, in your judgment, would Franklin have been just as unsuccessful in the business of preaching as Whitefield would have been in the business of printing?

19. In what ways, however, may we say that Franklin was really a preacher?

20. What can you tell briefly about Colonel Spotswood? Westminster Hall? Germantown? the Mufti of Constantinople? the settlement of Georgia?

CHAPTER XIII

1. How does Franklin account for the success of his several partnerships?

2. Can you explain Governor Thomas's difficulties with the Quaker assembly?

3. Why did Franklin write *Plain Truth*, and what effect did it have?

4. Why do you think he declined the office of colonel?

5. How and where did the Pennsylvania officers secure cannon for their battery?

6. How did Franklin assist in the proclaiming of a fast?

7. What did he say about resigning the clerkship of the assembly?

8. What opinions did Franklin come to have concerning the Quakers and their opposition to military service?

9. What experience did Logan once have on shipboard with William Penn?

10. Why did the Quakers support military defense, even though it was against their religious principles?

11. How did they avoid what Franklin calls "embarrassing situations"?

12. What does Franklin say about Michael Welfare's explanation of the doctrines of the Dunkers?

13. Why was Franklin's open stove such an important invention?

14. What was Franklin's attitude toward patents on his inventions? What is your opinion of this attitude?

15. How did Franklin go about the establishment of a free academy in Philadelphia?

16. What was the success of this undertaking?

17. Eventually what became of Franklin's academy? (See note on page 149 line 13.)

18. Can you explain how Franklin found so much time to give to public enterprises such as the academy?

19. In what way does the founding of the academy seem to you the finest thing that Franklin has so far accomplished?

20. What can you tell briefly about the Philosophical Society? Mr. Logan? William Penn? the Dunkers? Robert Grace? David Hall?

CHAPTER XIV

1. How do you account for the fact that Franklin could retire from active business when only forty-two years old?

2. What were some of the ways in which " the public laid hold " of him after his retirement?

3. What does the making of " magic squares to avoid weariness " show us about Franklin's mind and character? (See note on page 150, line 19.)

4. Why did Franklin withdraw from the office of justice of the peace?

5. How did the commissioners handle the liquor problem with the Indians?

6. What excuse did the Indians offer for their riotous behavior?

7. Why was Dr. Bond at first unsuccessful in his efforts to raise money for a hospital?

8. What was Franklin's plan to secure an appropriation from the assembly?

9. In your judgment was this plan a good one? Give your reasons.

10. Why did the success of the hospital " drive " give Franklin such great satisfaction?

11. Can you explain Franklin's reasons for refusing to help the Reverend Gilbert Tennent?

12. Do you sympathize with his refusal? Why? Why not?

13. What advice did he give Tennent, and how did it work?

14. What was Franklin's plan for cleaning the streets of Philadelphia?

15. Can you describe the city streets of Franklin's day in comparison with those of our time?

16. What suggestions did Franklin make for better lighting of the city?

17. What experience in London first gave him his notion about street cleaning?

18. What were the proposals he made to Dr. Fothergill?

19. Do you agree with Franklin when he says that happiness is "produced not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day"? Give your reasons.

20. What connection has the above quotation with lighting and cleaning of city streets?

CHAPTER XV

1. What were the most important improvements that Franklin made in the post office? (See note on page 162, line 10.)

2. What qualifications for a postmaster did Franklin possess?

3. Can you point out some of the most striking differences between the carrying of mail then and the carrying of mail today?

4. Why do you think Yale and Harvard gave Franklin honorary degrees?

5. What were Franklin's reasons for drawing up a plan of union for the colonies?

6. What were some of the objections to this plan of union?

7. Do you think Franklin is right in saying that the Revolution might have been avoided if his plan of union had been adopted? Give your reasons.

8. What does Franklin say about "disputing, contradicting" people? Do you agree with him?

9. Can you quote another passage earlier in the *Autobiography* which gives the same opinion concerning persons who like to dispute and argue?

10. How do you account for the fact that Governor Morris and Franklin remained on such friendly terms?

11. Why did both Hamilton and Morris resign their offices?

12. Why did " Mr. Quincy of Massachusetts " seek Franklin's assistance?

13. In what way did Franklin help him?

14. What comments will you make in general upon Franklin's position and standing in the community at this time (1754)?

15. Give a few facts about Thomas Penn; Governor Shirley; Governor Morris; Crown Point; Mr. Quincy.

CHAPTER XVI

1. What discouraged General Braddock at the outset of his expedition?

2. How did Franklin go about the task of securing horses and wagons for Braddock's army?

3. What were some of the more important conditions laid down by Franklin and accepted by Braddock, by which teams were to be hired from the Pennsylvania farmers?

4. What arguments did Franklin use to induce the farmers to furnish wagons?

5. What comment will you make on Franklin's statement that he had " no personal interest in the affair "? (See page 174, line 3.)

6. What did Franklin do for the comfort of the British officers, and who assisted him?

7. What do you think of the contents of the parcels provided for General Braddock's officers?

8. What opinion did Franklin form of Braddock as soldier and man?

9. What blunders did he make, and why did he not take the advice of Franklin and Washington?

10. Can you tell briefly the story of Braddock's defeat in the wilderness?

11. What was the effect of Braddock's defeat upon the American colonists?

12. What lessons in fighting had the French learned from the Indians that the British ignored?

13. What contrast does Franklin point out between the conduct of the British and the conduct of French troops while marching through the country?

14. What did Braddock think of Franklin's services to his army? (See note on page 179, line 25.)

15. How was it that Braddock's campaign nearly ruined Franklin?

16. Can you explain Franklin's forebodings as to Braddock's success?

17. What part did George Washington play in the battle of Fort Duquesne?

18. Can you point out the similarity of the services performed by Franklin and Washington for Braddock with their services for the United States in the War of Independence?

19. Do you think more or less of Franklin after reading this chapter? Why?

20. What information can you briefly give about Alexandria? Lancaster? George Croghan? Fort Duquesne? David Hume? General Shirley?

CHAPTER XVII

1. What finally induced the proprietaries in England to contribute something to the cause of defense in Pennsylvania?

2. What did Franklin do to arouse interest in forming militia companies?

3. Why do you think Franklin felt that he was not well qualified for military affairs?

4. What experiences had fitted William Franklin to be a military aide to his father?

5. What reasons did the Moravians give for setting aside their scruples against bearing arms?

6. What became of the farmers to whom Franklin gave guns and ammunition?

7. How was the palisade constructed at Gnadenhut?

8. What comment does Franklin make upon the connection between hard work and happiness? Do you agree? Why? Why not?

9. How did the Indians keep their feet warm at night, and still conceal their fires?

10. What suggestion did Franklin offer the chaplain, Beatty, and how did it work out?

11. Why did Franklin resign his command and return to Philadelphia?

12. What did he do before leaving the front?

13. What were some of the more interesting customs of the Moravians which Franklin observed?

14. What comment did Franklin make upon the Moravian custom of marriage by lot, and what reply did he receive?

15. What were some of the military honors bestowed upon Franklin when he returned to Philadelphia? In what way were they "brittle"?

16. What incident in particular displeased the proprietor in England? Why?

17. How did he try to injure Franklin? What was his success?

18. Can you explain why Franklin did not enjoy his military life?

19. If he did not like it, why did he consent to undertake such disagreeable work?

20. Was Franklin, in your judgment, a successful officer and soldier? Give your reasons fully..

CHAPTER XVIII

1. What has Franklin already said and done that would lead you to know he was interested in scientific experiments?

2. How did he help to spread knowledge of electricity among the people?

3. What treatment did his theory of the sameness of lightning and electricity at first receive?

4. Who was Cave and how did he profit by Franklin's writings on electricity?

5. Who was the abbé Nollet, and what did he write about Franklin's electrical experiments?

6. Why did Franklin decide not to answer the abbé's criticisms?

7. Do you respect him for taking this stand? Give your reasons.

8. Who were the first men to prove Franklin's lightning theory to be correct? How did they do it?

9. How was Franklin honored in England for his electrical discoveries?

10. Why do Franklin's electrical experiments seem to us trivial and almost childish?

11. Why were they so important and startling when he made them?

12. Can you tell the story of Franklin's famous experiment with the kite? (See page 251.)

13. How did Governor Denny try to win Franklin's favor?

14. What answer did Franklin make to his offers?

15. How did he get along with the new governor?

16. What can you briefly tell about the Royal Society of London? Peter Collinson? Dr. Fothergill? the Copley Medal? James Ralph?

CHAPTER XIX

1. Why was Franklin sent to England?

2. How do you account for Lord Loudoun's action in delaying the departure of the packets?

3. Why did Innis compare Loudoun to St. George on the signs?

4. How was the expedition against Louisburg conducted?

5. What experience did Captain Bonnell have with Lord Loudoun?

6. How do you explain the fact that such a man as Loudoun was sent to America?

7. What experience did Franklin have trying to secure the money due him from Braddock's campaign?

8. How was the speed of the packet increased? What was the explanation?

9. What suggestions does Franklin make for the improvement of sailing vessels?

10. In what ways does he show himself here the scientist and experimenter?

11. Who chased the packet and why?

12. How did the ship nearly come to grief on the English coast?

13. What determination did Franklin make after his narrow escape?

14. Who accompanied Franklin on this voyage? Where has he been mentioned before in the *Autobiography?*

15. What can you briefly tell about General Wolfe? the worm? the Scilly Isles? Sir Cloudesley Shovel? Stonehenge?

CHAPTER XX

1. Who was Lord Granville?

2. What did he tell Franklin concerning the government of the colonies?

3. Why was Franklin alarmed by Granville's attitude?

4. Why do you think Ferdinand Paris disliked Franklin? How did he show his feelings?

5. Can you explain briefly the cause of the dispute between the Penns and the Pennsylvania assembly?

6. Which side seems to you now to have been in the right? Why?

7. What caused tedious delays in conducting the settlement?

8. What answer did Franklin finally receive from the proprietaries?

9. Why, in your judgment, did the Penns wish to negotiate with some other agent than Franklin?

10. How did Governor Denny offend the proprietaries at this time?

11. How did Lord Mansfield assist the disputants in coming to an understanding?

12. What was the agreement that Franklin finally consented to sign?

13. How did the assembly at home feel toward Franklin for the part he had played in the negotiations?

14. How did Governor Denny come out of the affair?

15. What leads you to believe that Franklin expected to continue the *Autobiography?*

16. What differences of style do you notice between this last chapter and the first part of the *Autobiography?*

17. How do you account for these differences?

18. Do you think Franklin sought anything for himself in the negotiations with the Penns? Give your reasons.

19. Some one has said that at this time, eighteen years before the war began, Franklin foresaw the break with the mother country. Do you agree or not? Why?

20. When and where was this last chapter written? Under what circumstances was it first published? (See page 331.)

GENERAL QUESTIONS

[The following questions, which are of a broader and more general character than those in the previous section, are designed chiefly for review and examination when study of the *Autobiography* has been completed. Many of them are the contribution of boys and girls in the tenth grade, or sophomore year of the senior high school.]

1. What comparisons or contrasts can you make between Franklin's ancestors and those of Washington, Hamilton, Webster, and Lincoln?

2. If Benjamin Franklin had been born in England do you think he would have risen to fame and fortune?

3. How much schooling did Franklin have, and how did he supplement his lack of formal education?

4. Do you think Franklin would have made a greater success of his life if he had graduated from Harvard or Yale?

5. How did Franklin happen to have two birth dates during his lifetime?

6. How many arguments can you give in defense of Franklin's running away from Boston?

7. How do you account for his rise to fame and fortune with so little education?

8. Can you explain, if Franklin was a genius, why it was that none of his brothers and sisters were more than just ordinary men and women?

9. What comments can you make upon some of Franklin's early friends such as Collins, Ralph, etc.?

10. Why do you think older men were interested in Franklin when he was a mere youth?

11. How do you account for his remarkable success in business?

12. In what ways did Franklin's ability as a writer help him throughout his life?

13. What were some of the articles and pamphlets that he wrote?

14. Why have most of these so little interest for us to-day?

15. How do you account for the great popularity of *Poor Richard's Almanac* in comparison with similar literature to-day?

16. What makes you think that Franklin really never considered himself an author?

17. What do you believe he thought was his chief accomplishment to win lasting fame? Why?

18. Can you prove that Franklin was what we would call to-day "a good mixer"?

19. What was the secret of his success in getting along with all sorts and conditions of people?

20. What were some of the most important reforms brought about by Franklin in Philadelphia?

21. Do you think these reforms were undertaken purely for the public welfare, or were they in part to advertise himself? Discuss.

22. What advice did Cotton Mather once give Franklin under peculiar circumstances? Did he need this suggestion? How did he take it? (See page 310.)

23. What were some of the "errata" that Franklin acknowledges in the *Autobiography?*

24. Do you think he was wise to speak of these mistakes so frankly? Give your reasons.

25. Some one has said that Franklin possessed neither romantic nor poetic feelings. What is your opinion?

26. What were some of the ways in which Franklin spent his spare time?

27. What was his one notable athletic achievement? (See page 257.)

28. Of Franklin's inventions which seem to you the most interesting and also the most important?

29. What benefits did Franklin derive from his association with General Braddock?

30. In what ways was it fortunate for Franklin that he was a printer rather than a merchant or lawyer?

31. Can you defend the statement that Franklin was at heart a truly religious man?

32. Had Franklin died in 1757 (the year which closes the *Autobiography*) for what would he be remembered to-day?

33. What is meant by Franklin's "versatility"?

34. What other American leaders are noted for being versatile men?

35. Why is Franklin's name to-day so often associated with savings banks?

36. Why is it appropriate that Franklin's picture should be on our one-cent stamps?

37. Can you explain why most young people like the first half of the *Autobiography* better than the second half?

38. Which single chapter do you consider the most interesting of all? Why?

39. What is there unusual about the history of Franklin's *Autobiography?* (See pages 327–331.)

40. Would the *Autobiography*, in your judgment, be more interesting if it were a biography written by his son, William Franklin, or by his son-in-law, Richard Bache? Discuss.

41. What do you think of Franklin as a letter-writer?

42. What are the two most interesting letters of his you have read? Why do you like them?

43. Can you defend the statement that Franklin had a keen sense of humor?

44. What were six important public offices held by Franklin?

45. Can you give any reasons why Washington was elected the first President of the United States rather than Franklin?

46. What four great documents were signed by Benjamin Franklin?

47. In what ways do you believe Franklin really changed the course of American history?

48. How do you account for Franklin's great popularity even to-day in France?

49. If Franklin were alive to-day what three prominent Americans do you think he would find most congenial?

50. Do you think Franklin would be an interesting speaker to address your school? Give your reasons.

51. If you were invited out to dinner would you rather sit next to George Washington or next to Benjamin Franklin?

52. What do you personally most admire in Benjamin Franklin?

53. Did he possess any qualities that you would not care to adopt?

54. What were some of the great turning-points in Franklin's career?

55. What examples can you give of his remarkable foresight?

56. What reasons can you give for believing that Franklin would be a leader if he were alive to-day?

57. Why did Franklin leave certain sums of money to Boston and Philadelphia? How have they been used?

58. What comments in general have you to make on his will?

59. Franklin once said in *Poor Richard*, "It is better to live rich than to die rich." How did he manage to do both?

60. Where is Franklin buried and how is his grave marked? What contrast does this make with the tombs of King George III, Napoleon, and Ulysses S. Grant?

SUBJECTS FOR ORAL AND WRITTEN COMPOSITIONS

[The first forty subjects that follow are based entirely on facts given by Franklin in the *Autobiography*. The remaining sixty subjects cover a somewhat wider field. Though more general, and therefore somewhat more difficult, they have all been successfully handled by boys and girls of fourteen to sixteen.

Questions and topics for class discussion on each chapter are given on pages 401–423.]

INCIDENTS IN THE *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*

1. Franklin's Purpose in Writing the *Autobiography*

Give Franklin's reasons, add others of your own, and comment upon them.

2. The Ancestors of Benjamin Franklin

Name some of them; tell what they were like; compare with people in your community.

3. Franklin's Father

Write a character sketch of Josiah Franklin, concluding with your own estimate of the man.

4. Benjamin's Early Occupations

An account of his work in his father's shop and later with his brother James.

5. Franklin's First Books

What were they, how did he get them, when did he use them? Compare with a boy's reading to-day.

6. Learning to Write by Imitation

Tell the story of Franklin's use of the *Spectator* to improve his style. Compare this method with your own work in English composition.

7. Franklin's First Publications

The story of the ballads he sold in the streets, and of the essays he contributed to his brother's paper.

8. Benjamin's Relations with His Brother James

Tell the story of the indentures, the quarrels of the brothers, and the part played by their father, with your own feelings in the matter.

9. The Runaway Apprentice

Give Benjamin's reasons for running away, in a letter written by him from Philadelphia to an imaginary friend in Boston.

10. A Journey in 1723

The story of Benjamin's experiences on his way from Boston to Philadelphia.

11. Franklin's Arrival in Philadelphia

Describe his entry into the city of his adoption, telling something in detail about the first places where he ate, drank, and slept.

12. Working for Keimer

The story of Franklin's securing work with Keimer, and an account of his first duties in his shop.

13. Franklin and Governor Keith

The story of Governor Keith's interest in Franklin, and his later treachery. This might be told in the form of a letter from Franklin to his father or sister.

14. A Visit to His Old Home

Tell of Franklin's return to Boston, his interviews with his father and brother, and his voyage back to Philadelphia.

15. Franklin and His Friend Collins

Trace the story of their friendship in Boston and Philadelphia, and explain how it came to an unhappy end.

16. Keimer, Printer and Man

Write a character sketch of this peculiar man, justifying Franklin's statement that " he was an odd fish."

17. Early Friends in Philadelphia

Who were some of them, and what was Franklin's influence among them?

18. A Contest in Verse Writing

How and where was this held, and what was the outcome? Add comments of your own upon this event.

19. The First Voyage to England

Why did Franklin take this journey? What experiences did he have on shipboard and on his arrival in London?

20. A Year and a Half in London

Condense the story of Franklin's stay in London into about two pages, and add your own opinion as to what he gained by this experience.

21. The Partnership with Meredith

Tell briefly who Meredith was, the conditions of the partnership, and why it eventually went to pieces.

22. The Junto, Its Purpose and Results

Describe the workings of the club, and tell something about its influence and how Franklin used it to spread his own ideas.

23. Franklin's Industry in Business

Explain how Franklin got ahead in business, and how he impressed older men in Philadelphia.

24. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*

The story of Franklin's paper, how he started it and improved it, with some account of his ideals and success.

25. Franklin's Marriage

Tell the story of his acquaintance with Miss Read from his first sight of her until they were married.

26. The Subscription Library

The story of this project, its development and success, with comments of your own upon the importance of the undertaking.

27. Franklin's Plan of Life

Briefly explain the main points of this famous plan, telling what you think were its strongest and weakest parts.

28. Order and Humility

Describe Franklin's difficulties in acquiring these virtues, and tell what he says about them.

29. Franklin's List of Virtues

Comment upon the virtues chosen by Franklin and the order in which he arranged them. What changes would you make and why?

30. *Poor Richard's Almanac*

An account of the establishing of the almanac, its name, and its great popularity.

31. Ideas on Education

Give Franklin's opinions on the teaching of Latin and the education of women for business, with comments of your own upon his theories.

32. The Public-Spirited Citizen

Tell briefly of Franklin's services to Philadelphia in establishing a city watch, fire companies, etc., and explain how he put his ideas into operation.

33. The Reverend George Whitefield

Write a character sketch of this famous preacher, telling also of his influence and his relations with Franklin.

34. Franklin and the Quakers

The story of Franklin's tact in dealing with the Quakers in peace and war.

35. Establishing an Academy

How Franklin aroused public sentiment in favor of a free school; its establishment; later development.

36. Franklin's Plan for Colonial Union

Tell when and where he presented his plan and why it was not accepted.

37. Serving with General Braddock

Tell the story of Franklin's part in Braddock's campaign.

38. Franklin at the Front

An account of his services in the Pennsylvania militia, especially at the building of Fort Allen.

39. The Electrical Experiments

Summarize Franklin's account of his scientific work in electricity, and tell something about the honors he received in London.

40. Lord Loudoun the Dallier

Write a character sketch of this inefficient British officer, and describe his relations with Franklin.

GENERAL SUBJECTS

41. The Ancestors of Franklin and Washington

Contrast the families of these two great men in England, and explain how America brought them in many ways closer together. See note on page 5, line 5.

42. Signs of Genius in the Boy

Point out at least three ways in which Franklin seems to you to have been a remarkable boy.

43. Franklin's Use of His Leisure

Tell of the different ways throughout his life in which he made use of his spare time. Explain how this use of leisure is related to his greatness.

44. Franklin and Swimming

After reading pages 257–259 write an account of Franklin's swimming exploits.

45. An Old-Time Journal

Read carefully Franklin's *Journal of a Voyage in 1726*. Why is it interesting? What do you think of its style? What are some of the best parts?

46. Franklin's Mechanical Skill

Write an account of his ingenuity from boyhood days to his later famous inventions. See pages 250 and 253. Remember his skill in devising various improvements in Keimer's shop.

47. The Growth and Influence of the Junto

Tell about the expansion of the Junto into other small clubs, and its final development into the American Philosophical Society. Also explain its influence upon life in Philadelphia.

48. Working for the Public Good

Bring together in one essay an account of six or eight of Franklin's public-spirited enterprises. Give your own opinion of their value.

49. Franklin the Puzzle-Maker

After reading the note on page 150, line 19, write a paper on Franklin's magic squares. A more interesting essay will result if a good encyclopædia also is consulted. Give your opinion of this way of spending some of his spare time.

50. Franklin's Sea Voyages

How many times did he cross the Atlantic? When and under what circumstances? What other voyages did he take? Compare one of his voyages with a sea trip to-day.

51. Franklin the Business Man

Give an account of Franklin's business career as a printer, explaining how he made a fortune so quickly and why he retired when only forty-two.

52. Franklin the Scientist

Defend the statement that Franklin was the foremost American scientist of the eighteenth century. What honors did he receive from his achievements in science?

53. Franklin the Author

Write a sketch of Franklin as a man of letters after reading pages 221–222 and 333–337. Include your own opinion of his writings.

54. Franklin the Statesman

Enumerate, with comments of your own, the various offices held by Franklin, especially after 1750.

55. The Many-Sided Franklin

Write a sketch of his varied accomplishments, comparing him in versatility with Washington, Lincoln, or Roosevelt.

56. Franklin the Soldier

Tell the story of Franklin's services with Braddock and also against the Indians. Give his opinion of war in general. See page 306.

57. Franklin's Popularity Abroad

Why did he go to France and what did he accomplish there? What was the feeling of the French people for him then, and what is it to-day? See page 299.

58. The Grand Old Man

Write a brief account of Franklin's life in Philadelphia from 1785 to 1790.

59. Two Pictures

In two paragraphs contrast Franklin's first arrival in Philadelphia in 1723 with his return from France in 1785.

60. Franklin in France

Write an imaginary account of some one incident in which Franklin played an important part while in France, such as the signing of the treaty of alliance.

61. British Officers in America

With Franklin's comments on Braddock and Loudoun in mind, and with what you know of Gage, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, write a paper on the character of the officers England sent to the colonies in the eighteenth century. See note on page 205, line 28.

62. The Most Noted Kite That Ever Flew

Give in your own words the story of Franklin's kite and lightning experiment. See page 251.

63. William Franklin

Write a brief account of Franklin's son, referring especially to those places in the *Autobiography* where he is mentioned.

64. Franklin or Washington

Compare and contrast the services to mankind of these two men, and give your own opinion as to which was the greater.

65. Franklin and Edison

Compare in some detail the work of Franklin with that of Edison, or with some other great American of our time, such as Roosevelt or Carnegie.

66. Mistakes Made by Franklin

What are some of the "errata" mentioned in the *Autobiography?* Do you think Franklin wise to have spoken of them? What other failings can you point out in the man?

67. Franklin the Materialist

Leigh Hunt once said of Franklin, "With all his abilities he is but at the head of those who think that man lives by bread alone." First explain just what Hunt meant by this criticism, and then state whether you think it is true or false, and why.

68. The Apostle of Thrift

Some one has called Franklin "the chief exponent of a miserable candle-saving philosophy." Explain what this criticism means, and defend Franklin against the charge.

69. Why I Admire Benjamin Franklin

Sum up your own reasons for thinking Franklin one of the great men of all time.

70. The Manuscript of the *Autobiography*

Tell in your own words the interesting story of the original pages of this famous work. See pages 327–330.

71. Franklin's Descendants

Write a sketch of Franklin's descendants, especially of William, his son, Sarah Bache, his daughter, and Temple, his grandson. See pages 329–330.

72. The Illustrations in This Book

Which ones do you like best and why? Point out some of the interesting details, and tell what you learn of Franklin's times from them.

73. Suggestions for Pictures

If you were to illustrate an edition of the *Autobiography*, what eight or ten incidents would you choose? Give a reason for each of your selections.

74. Franklin as a Letter Writer.

After reading at least ten of the letters in this volume write an essay on Franklin's skill and charm as a correspondent.

75. The Will of Benjamin Franklin

What are some of the most remarkable features of Franklin's will? How have his bequests been used? What do you think of this document as a whole? See pages 277–283.

SUBJECTS CALLING FOR SOME IMAGINATION

76. A Visit to Boston in 1721

You are a cousin from the country and spend a day with Josiah Franklin's family when Benjamin is fifteen years old. Write an account of your visit.

77. Building a Wharf

Write the story of your experience as one of the boys who helped in the construction of the wharf mentioned by Benjamin on page 11. Be sure to use conversation and add something to Franklin's account.

78. Selling Ballads in Boston

Pretending you are Benjamin, tell how you happened to write ballads, and give some of your experiences in selling them on the streets.

79. My Argument with Collins

Write out, as though you were Franklin, your side of the debate with Collins mentioned on page 18. Some members of the class may prefer to write Collins's side of the question.

80. A New Boy in Town

Be Miss Read and describe Benjamin as she saw him that first morning in Philadelphia in October, 1723. See page 34.

81. Governor Keith's Plans

Governor Keith talks over with two friends the need of a good printer in Philadelphia and mentions Franklin. Write an account of the incident, with conversation and action.

82. Franklin Visits His Brother's Shop

Write an imaginary account of Benjamin's visit to James's printing establishment when he returned to Boston in 1724. Make it interesting by using direct discourse. See page 40.

83. A Talk with Mr. Denham

Franklin tells Mr. Denham of the chance he has to remain in England and teach swimming. Mr. Denham persuades him to decline, and offers him a position in Philadelphia. Report the conversation. See page 65.

84. Keimer's Peace Offering

Describe the scene when Keimer went to Franklin after their quarrel and offered him a position in his shop.

85. Governor Keith Explains

Imagine a meeting between Governor Keith and Franklin a year or two after the latter's return from London. Make their conversation lively and interesting.

86. A Meeting of the Junto

Describe a typical meeting of the club as you imagine it to have been. Have Franklin take a prominent part and bring in other characters, too.

87. Friends in Need

Robert Grace and William Coleman talk over Franklin's affairs and decide to help him out of his difficulties with Meredith. This will be a good opportunity to write a character sketch of Franklin. See page 84.

88. Two Great Men Meet for the First Time

Write an account, largely from your imagination, of the first meeting between Franklin and Washington in the camp of General Braddock.

89. An Interview with Benjamin Franklin

Imagine yourself a newspaper reporter and write an account of an interview with Franklin under one of the following circumstances:

A. On his return from London in 1726.
B. On his starting the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.
C. On the opening of the new library.
D. On his return from Braddock's campaign.
E. On the news of Whitefield's death.
F. On his receiving the Copley Medal.
G. On his return from London in 1762.
H. On some other event of your own choice.

A BATCH OF LETTERS

[The following subjects can be handled most successfully after reading some of the letters given on pages 284–315. Try to use probable dates, and in so far as you can, imitate the style of Franklin's correspondence.]

90. Come Home, Benjamin!

Josiah Franklin writes a letter to his son as soon as he hears that he is in Philadelphia.

91. Reasons for Leaving Boston

Benjamin writes an answer to his father's letter described in No. 90 above.

92. A Governor's Recommendations

Write the letter which Governor Keith sent to Josiah Franklin, urging him to set his son up in business in Philadelphia.

93. A Letter to an Old Friend

Write a letter which Franklin sent, we may imagine, to James Ralph in London with a copy of his first number of *Poor Richard's Almanac*.

94. A Famous Man's Offer

Write the answer which Sir Hans Sloane sent to Franklin's letter given on page 356 of the notes.

95. A Letter from Mr. Hemphill

Write a letter which Mr. Hemphill may have written to a friend in England during his visit in Philadelphia. See page 119.

96. Advice for Mr. Whitefield

Imagine that Mr. Whitefield has written Franklin concerning the printing of a volume of his sermons. Write Franklin's reply after reading page 134 of the *Autobiography*.

97. The Philadelphia Citizen

Robert Grace writes to William Coleman in New York, telling him of the ways in which their young friend Franklin is rising to fame and fortune in Philadelphia.

98. On Retiring from Business

Franklin writes to his sister Jane in Boston, telling her of his reasons for retiring from business and of his plans for the future.

99. News from Abroad

Franklin writes to his wife in Philadelphia, telling her of the voyage in 1757 and his narrow escape from shipwreck. See page 210.

100. From His Favorite Sister

Write the answer which Jane Franklin wrote to Benjamin in reply to his letter on page 284. Or write a reply to any other letter given in this volume.